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The State of the Union

*Message of the President to the Congress (Excerpts)*¹

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Eighty-third Congress:

It is a high honor again to present to the Congress my views on the state of the Union and to recommend measures to advance the security, prosperity, and well-being of the American people.

All branches of this Government—and I venture to say both of our great parties—can support the general objective of the recommendations I make today, for that objective is the building of a stronger America. A Nation whose every citizen has good reason for bold hope; where effort is rewarded and prosperity is shared; where freedom expands and peace is secure—that is what I mean by a stronger America.

Toward this objective a real momentum has been developed. We mean to continue that momentum and to increase it. We mean to build a better future for this Nation.

Much for which we may be thankful has happened during the past year.

First of all we are deeply grateful that our sons no longer die on the distant mountains of Korea. Although they are still called from our homes to military service, they are no longer called to the field of battle.

The Nation has just completed the most prosperous year in its history. The damaging effect of inflation on the wages, pensions, salaries, and savings of us all has been brought under control. Taxes have begun to go down. The cost of our Government has been reduced and its work proceeds with some 183,000 fewer employees; thus the discouraging trend of modern governments toward their own limitless expansion has in our case

been reversed. The cost of armaments becomes less oppressive as we near our defense goals; yet we are militarily stronger every day. During the year, creation of the new Cabinet Department of Health, Education, and Welfare symbolized the Government's permanent concern with the human problems of our citizens.

Segregation in the armed forces and other Federal activities is on the way out. We have also made progress toward its abolition in the District of Columbia. These are steps in the continuing effort to eliminate interracial difficulty.

Some developments beyond our shores have been equally encouraging. Communist aggression, halted in Korea, continues to meet in Indochina the vigorous resistance of France and of the Associated States, assisted by timely aid from our country. In West Germany, in Iran, and in other areas of the world, heartening political victories have been won by the forces of stability and freedom. Slowly but surely, the free world gathers strength. Meanwhile, from behind the Iron Curtain, there are signs that tyranny is in trouble and reminders that its structure is as brittle as its surface is hard.

There has been in fact a great strategic change in the world during the past year. That precious intangible, the initiative, is becoming ours. Our policy, not limited to mere reaction against crises provoked by others, is free to develop along lines of our choice not only abroad but at home. As a major theme for American policy during the coming year, let our joint determination be to hold this initiative and to use it.

We shall use this initiative to promote three broad purposes: First, to protect the freedom of our people; second, to maintain a strong, growing

¹ Delivered on Jan. 7 (H. doc. 251, 83d Cong., 2d sess.). Also available as Department of State publication 5344.

economy; third, to concern ourselves with the human problems of the individual citizen.

Only by real progress toward attainment of these purposes can we be sure that we are on the road to a better and a stronger America. All my recommendations today are in furtherance of these three purposes.

Foreign Affairs

Because our position as a sovereign nation in relationship to other sovereign nations overshadows and influences every other problem to which this Government falls heir, it is appropriate that I should start my specific discussions with the subject of foreign affairs.

American freedom is threatened so long as the world Communist conspiracy exists in its present scope, power, and hostility. More closely than ever before, American freedom is interlocked with the freedom of other people.

In the unity of the free world lies our best chance to reduce the Communist threat without war. In the task of maintaining this unity and strengthening all its parts, the greatest responsibility falls to those who, like ourselves, retain the most freedom and the most strength.

We shall, therefore, continue to advance the cause of freedom on foreign fronts.

In the Far East, we retain our vital interest in Korea. We have negotiated with the Republic of Korea a mutual security pact which develops our security system for the Pacific. I shall promptly submit it to the Senate for its consent to ratification. We are prepared to meet any renewal of armed aggression in Korea.

We shall maintain indefinitely our bases in Okinawa. I shall ask the Congress to authorize continued material assistance to hasten the successful conclusion of the struggle in Indochina. This assistance will also bring closer the day when the Associated States may enjoy the independence already assured by France. We shall continue military and economic aid to the Nationalist Government of China.

In South Asia, profound changes are taking place in free nations which are demonstrating their ability to progress through democratic methods. They provide an inspiring contrast to the dictatorial methods and backward course of events in Communist China. In these continuing efforts,

the free peoples of South Asia can be assured of the support of the United States.

In the Middle East, where tensions and serious problems exist, we will show sympathetic and impartial friendship.

In Western Europe our policy rests firmly on the North Atlantic Treaty. It will remain so based as far ahead as we can see. Within its organization, the building of a united European community, including France and Germany, is vital to a free and self-reliant Europe.

This will be promoted by the European Defense Community, which offers assurance of European security. With the coming of unity to Western Europe, the assistance this Nation can render for the security of Europe and for the entire free world will be multiplied in effectiveness.

In the Western Hemisphere, we shall continue to develop harmonious and mutually beneficial cooperation with our neighbors. Indeed, solid friendship with all our American neighbors is a cornerstone of our entire policy.

In the world as a whole, the United Nations, admittedly still in a state of evolution, means much to the United States. It has given uniquely valuable services in many places where violence threatened. It is the only real world forum where we have the opportunity for international presentation and rebuttal.

It is a place where the nations of the world can, if they have the will, take collective action for peace and justice. It is a place where the guilt can be squarely assigned to those who fail to take all necessary steps to keep the peace. The United Nations deserves our continued and firm support.

Foreign Assistance and Trade

Now, in the practical application of our foreign policy, we enter the field of foreign assistance and trade.

Military assistance must be continued. Technical assistance must be maintained. Economic assistance can be reduced. However, our economic programs in Korea and in a few other critical places of the world are especially important, and I shall ask Congress to continue support in these particular spots in the next fiscal year.

The forthcoming budget message will propose maintenance of the presidential power of transferability of all assistance funds and will ask authority to merge these funds with the regular defense

funds. It will also propose that the Secretary of Defense have primary responsibility for the administration of foreign military assistance in accordance with the policy guidance provided by the Secretary of State.

The fact that we can now reduce our foreign economic assistance in many areas is gratifying evidence that its objectives are being achieved. By continuing to surpass her prewar levels of economic activity, Western Europe gains self-reliance. Thus our relationship enters a new phase which can bring results beneficial to our taxpayers and our allies alike, if still another step is taken.

This step is the creation of a healthier and freer system of trade and payments within the free world—a system in which our allies can earn their own way and our economy can continue to flourish. The free world can no longer afford the kinds of arbitrary restraints on trade that have continued ever since the war.

On this problem I shall submit to the Congress detailed recommendations, after our joint Commission on Foreign Economic Policy has made its report.

Atomic Energy Proposal

As we maintain our military strength during the coming year and draw closer the bonds with our allies, we shall be in an improved position to discuss outstanding issues with the Soviet Union. Indeed we shall be glad to do so whenever there is a reasonable prospect of constructive results.

In this spirit the atomic energy proposals of the United States were recently presented to the United Nations General Assembly.² A truly constructive Soviet reaction will make possible a new start toward an era of peace and away from the fatal road toward atomic war.

Defense

Since our hope for all the world is peace, we owe ourselves and the world a candid explanation of the military measures we are taking to make that peace secure.

As we enter this new year, our military power continues to grow. This power is for our own defense and to deter aggression. We shall not be aggressors, but we and our allies have and will maintain a massive capability to strike back.

Here are some of the considerations in our defense planning:

First, while determined to use atomic power to serve the usages of peace, we take into full account our great and growing number of nuclear weapons and the most effective means of using them against an aggressor if they are needed to preserve our freedom.

Our defense, therefore, will be stronger if, under appropriate security safeguards, we share with our allies certain knowledge of the tactical use of our nuclear weapons. I urge the Congress to provide the needed authority.

Second, the usefulness of these new weapons creates new relationships between men and materials. These new relationships permit economies in the use of men as we build forces suited to our situation in the world today. As will be seen from the budget message on January 21, the air power of our Navy and Air Force is receiving heavy emphasis.

Third, our armed forces must regain mobility of action. Our strategic reserves must be centrally placed and readily deployable to meet sudden aggression against ourselves and our allies.

Fourth, our defense must rest on trained manpower and its most economical and mobile use. A professional corps is the heart of any security organization. It is necessarily the teacher and leader of those who serve temporarily in the discharge of the obligation to help defend the Republic. Pay alone will not retain in the career service of our armed forces the necessary numbers of long-term and able personnel. I strongly urge, therefore, a more generous use of traditional benefits important to service morale. Among these are adequate living quarters and family housing units, and medical care for dependents.

Studies of military manpower have just been completed by the National Security Training Commission and a committee appointed by the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. Evident weaknesses exist in the state of readiness and organization of our reserve forces. Measures to correct these weaknesses will be later submitted to the Congress.

Fifth, the ability to convert swiftly from partial to all-out mobilization is imperative to our security. For the first time, mobilization officials know what are the requirements for 1,000 major items needed for military uses.

These data, now being related to civilian re-

² BULLETIN of Dec. 21, 1953, p. 847.

quirements and our supply potential, will show us the gaps in our mobilization base. Thus we shall have more realistic plant expansion and stockpiling goals. We shall speed their attainment. This Nation is at last to have an up-to-date mobilization base—the foundation of a sound defense program.

Another part of this foundation is, of course, our continental transport system. Some of our vital heavy materials come increasingly from Canada. Indeed our relations with Canada, happily always close, involve more and more the unbreakable ties of strategic interdependence. Both nations now need the St. Lawrence Seaway for security as well as for economic reasons. I urge the Congress promptly to approve our participation in its construction.

Sixth, military and nonmilitary measures for continental defense are being strengthened. In the current fiscal year we are allocating to these purposes an increasing portion of our effort, and in the next fiscal year we shall spend nearly a billion dollars more for them than in 1953.

An indispensable part of our continental security is our civil defense effort. This will succeed only as we have the complete cooperation of State governors, city mayors, and voluntary citizen groups. With their help we can advance a cooperative program which, if an attack should come, would save many lives and lessen destruction.

The defense program recommended in the 1955 budget is consistent with all the considerations that I have just discussed. It is based on a new military program unanimously recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and approved by me following consideration by the National Security Council. This new program will make and keep America strong in an age of peril. Nothing should bar its attainment.

The international and defense policies which I have outlined will enable us to negotiate from a position of strength as we hold our resolute course toward a peaceful world. We turn now to matters which are more definitely domestic in character, though well realizing that our situation abroad affects every phase of our daily lives—from the amount of taxes to our very state of mind.

Internal Security

Under the standards established by the new employee security program, more than 2,200 em-

ployees have been separated from the Federal Government. Our national security demands that the investigation of new employees and the evaluation of derogatory information respecting present employees be expedited and concluded at the earliest possible date. I shall recommend that the Congress provide additional funds where necessary to speed these important procedures.

From the special employment standards of the Federal Government I turn now to a matter relating to American citizenship. The subversive character of the Communist Party in the United States has been clearly demonstrated in many ways, including court proceedings. We should recognize by law a fact that is plain to all thoughtful citizens—that we are dealing here with actions akin to treason, that when a citizen knowingly participates in the Communist conspiracy he no longer holds allegiance to the United States.

I recommend that Congress enact legislation to provide that a citizen of the United States who is convicted in the courts of hereafter conspiring to advocate the overthrow of this Government by force or violence be treated as having, by such act, renounced his allegiance to the United States and forfeited his United States citizenship.

In addition, the Attorney General will soon appear before your committees to present his recommendations for needed additional legal weapons with which to combat subversion in our country and to deal with the question of claimed immunity.

Strong Economy

I turn now to the second great purpose of our Government: Along with the protection of freedom, the maintenance of a strong and growing economy.

The American economy is one of the wonders of the world. It undergirds our international position, our military security, and the standard of living of every citizen. This administration is determined to keep our economy strong and to keep it growing.

At this moment, we are in transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. I am confident that we can complete this transition without serious interruption in our economic growth. But we shall not leave this vital matter to chance. Economic preparedness is fully as important to the Nation as military preparedness.

Subsequent special messages and the economic report on January 28 will set forth economic plans

of the administration and its recommendations for congressional action. These will include flexible credit and debt management policies; tax measures to stimulate consumer and business spending; suitable lending, guaranteeing, insuring, and grant-in-aid activities; strengthened old age and unemployment insurance measures; improved agricultural programs; public works plans laid well in advance; enlarged opportunities for international trade and investment. This enumeration of these subjects only faintly hints the vast amount of study, coordination, and planning, to say nothing of authorizing legislation, that all together will make our economic preparedness complete.

If new conditions arise that require additional administrative or legislative action, the administration will still be ready. A government always ready to take well-timed and vigorous action, and a business community willing, as ours is, to plan boldly and with confidence, can between them develop a climate assuring steady economic growth.

Conclusion

I want to add a final word about the general purport of these many recommendations, which are not in any sense exclusive. Others will from time to time be submitted to the Congress.

Our Government's powers are wisely limited by the Constitution; but quite apart from those limitations there are things which no government can do or should try to do.

A government can strive, as ours is striving, to maintain an economic system whose doors are open to enterprise and ambition—those personal qualities on which economic growth largely depends. But enterprise and ambition are qualities which no government can supply. Fortunately no American government need concern itself on this score; our people have these qualities in good measure.

A government can sincerely strive for peace, as ours is striving, and ask its people to make sacrifices for the sake of peace. But no government can place peace in the hearts of foreign rulers. So it is our duty to ourselves and to freedom it-

self to remain strong in all those ways—spiritual, economic, military—that will give us maximum safety against the possibility of aggressive action by others.

No government can inoculate its people against the fatal materialism that plagues our age. Happily, our people, though blessed with more material goods than any people in history, have always reserved their first allegiance to the kingdom of the spirit, which is the true source of that freedom we value above all material things.

But, ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, a government can try, as ours tries, to sense the deepest aspirations of the people and to express them in political action at home and abroad. So long as action and aspiration humbly and earnestly seek favor in the sight of the Almighty, there is no end to America's forward road; there is no obstacle on it she will not surmount in her march toward a lasting peace in a free and prosperous world.

Foreign Policy Conference Held at White House

*Statement by James C. Hagerty
Press Secretary to the President*

White House press release dated January 5

At the invitation of the President a conference of the legislative leaders of both parties was held at the White House on January 5.

At the conference the Secretary of State presented a summary by areas of world conditions and the effect those conditions will have on the foreign policy of the United States.

The Director of the Foreign Operations Administration then summarized the work of his agency, particularly as it will deal with the request for foreign military, economic, and technical assistance which the administration will make at this session of the Congress.

Finally, the Secretary of Defense outlined the defense plans of the administration including a recitation of the general steps by which the program is to be carried out.

A general discussion and exchange of views was held thereafter on these three presentations.

Reply From U.S.S.R. on Atomic Energy Proposal

Following are the texts of a statement made to correspondents on January 6 by Henry Suydam, Chief of the News Division, and a statement handed to Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen by Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov on December 21:

STATEMENT BY MR. SUYDAM

The State Department confirms that the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. [Vyacheslav M.] Molotov, has advised the U.S. Secretary of State through the U.S. Embassy at Moscow that the Soviet Government is prepared to exchange views on procedural questions concerning the forthcoming conversations on the question of atomic energy at Washington through Ambassador [Georgi N.] Zaroubin.

Secretary Dulles expects to proceed at an early date to have the procedural conversations which the Soviet Government has indicated would be acceptable to it.

The foregoing involves the acceptance by the Soviet Union of a suggestion which Secretary Dulles had communicated to Foreign Minister Molotov.

SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 21

[Unofficial translation]

In his speech before the United Nations General Assembly on December 8,¹ President Eisenhower of the United States of America dwelt on the problem of the atomic arms race.

With good reason, the United States President emphasized the danger for the peoples of the world of the situation created if governments do not take measures against the atomic arms race. This is all the more correct now when, in addition to atomic weapons, there have already been created hydrogen weapons which greatly surpass the atomic in their power. One must also not forget such new types of armament as rocket weapons which current technology permits to be used over thousands of kilometers without resort to airplanes, and also torpedoes with atomic warheads, et cetera.

The discovery of the practical possibility of using atomic energy is the greatest achievement of contemporary science and technology. Both the possibility of using atomic energy for military purposes and the possibility of its use for peaceful purposes have been opened up. Up to recent times, attempts have been made for the most part to use atomic energy for the production of armaments. Meanwhile, humanity is interested in having atomic energy used only for peaceful needs and in preventing the use of atomic energy for those purposes which are contrary to popular honor and conscience, like mass destruction of people and barbaric ruin of cities.

Almost 30 years ago the governments of 49 states

reached an agreement and signed the Geneva Protocol of 1925 regarding the prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, having recognized as a crime the use of such weapons of mass destruction of people. This agreement between governments, signed also by the Soviet Union in its turn, produced positive results.

Everyone knows that during the First World War there were widely used such weapons of mass destruction of people as suffocating and poisonous gases and also other types of chemical weapons whose use has met with decisive popular condemnation. Even at that time there was also imminent the threat of the use of injurious bacteriological weapons serving the purpose of infecting peaceful inhabitants of cities with gravest illnesses, a situation with which the conscience of the great majority of people could not reconcile itself. This gave rise to the necessity for international agreement in the form of the above-mentioned Geneva Protocol which condemned and prohibited the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons in war.

If it had not been for this Protocol, signed by 49 states although still not ratified by all states, it is completely obvious that there would have existed no restraining factor whatsoever against the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons in the Second World War as well. The fact that in the Second World War not a single government decided to use chemical and bacteriological weapons shows that the above-mentioned agreement among states directed against chemical and bacteriological weapons had a favorable effect. At the same time it goes without saying that one must not belittle the fact that, taking their stand upon this international agreement, the states of the anti-Hitler coalition firmly announced that attempts by the enemy to use chemical weapons in war would be given a crushing repulse.

The observations which have been made are also fully applicable to atomic and hydrogen weapons. It is known that the United Nations do not classify these weapons with conventional types of armament but consider them as a special type of weapons, weapons of mass destruction.

One can understand the fact that President Eisenhower, who is known as one of the outstanding military leaders in the last World War, has emphasized the destructive power of atomic weapons. It is also necessary to bear in mind that the significance of this problem is acquiring still greater force with the passage of time.

It would be completely incomprehensible if states which have atomic or hydrogen weapons did not attach the requisite significance to the question of prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, like other types of weapons of mass destruction, or if they were to put off until some undetermined future time the achievement of international agreement on this question. Such an approach to this important and urgent problem could find no justification.

The Soviet Union is consistently struggling for the prohibition of atomic weapons and, in addition, for the significant reduction of all other types of armaments. This corresponds with the policy of the Soviet Government which is directed toward the prevention of a new war and the strengthening of peace and cooperation among peoples.

In his speech regarding atomic weapons on December 8, the President of the United States of America noted the great significance of the problem of easing international tension and the creation of an atmosphere of mutual peaceful trust. This is also in accordance with the views of the Soviet Government which unswervingly is striving to contribute to the lessening of tension in international relations and to assure the strengthening of peace in the whole world.

In order to achieve successes in this course, mutual efforts to remove factors interfering with the lessening of tension in international relations are necessary. As regards the Soviet Union, we are doing everything to concentrate the labor of the Soviet people and our material resources on the solution of the new gigantic tasks of further raising the peaceful economy and the culture of the country and further to widen international economic co-

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 21, 1953, p. 847.

operation on the bases of equal rights and mutual advantage. The Soviet Union is one of those States which are striving toward the development of healthy trade and which decisively condemn the policy which has discredited itself in this field of discrimination and pressure on economically dependent countries. The interests of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union do not demand the creation of military blocs and alliances directed against any other states, nor does it demand the establishment of military bases on the territory of other states. The Soviet Union considers incompatible with normal relations between states the policy which would mean support of diversionary subversive acts in other countries or financing of agents-saboteurs. Efforts to improve relations between states should have led to mutual recognition of these principles which cannot contradict the national interests of any state and which at the same time fully accord with the interests of strengthening peace and international security.

Specifically for this reason the Soviet Government considers so important not only the forthcoming conference in Berlin but also the conference of five powers with the participation of the Chinese People's Republic, since in present circumstances only the joint efforts of all great powers together with the efforts of other states can assure the lessening of tension in the whole international situation and appropriate solution of individual international problems which have come to a head. This also accords with the Charter of the United Nations under which special responsibility for preserving the peace and international security is laid on five states: the United States of America, England, France, the U. S. S. R. and China. In addition, it is completely evident that at the present time specifically the Chinese People's Republic should represent the great Chinese people in the United Nations.

Wishing to assist in raising the role and authority of the United Nations in strengthening universal peace, it follows that one must display special pertinacity in bringing together the positions of the five great powers on the question of cutting short the race in atomic and all other armaments. Any step toward agreement between these powers both regarding the removal of the danger of the use of atomic or hydrogen weapons and regarding the cutting short of the armaments race in general would undoubtedly be unanimously supported by all the United Nations. Above all, there are present in this course important possibilities for lessening tension in the international situation and for the strengthening of peace.

Having stated his opinion concerning the significance of atomic weapons, President Eisenhower spoke of the desirability of holding appropriate confidential or diplomatic conversations among interested states.

In addition, President Eisenhower advanced the proposal that appropriate states should immediately begin to transfer and in the future continue to transfer for the use for peaceful purposes "from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an international atomic energy agency" which would be under the auspices of the United Nations. In this proposal, in addition, it is indicated that this international atomic energy agency "could be made responsible for the impounding, storage and protection of the contributed fissionable and other material."

It is necessary to examine the significance of this proposal.

First, this proposal means that from existing and newly created reserves of atomic materials it is proposed to allot for peaceful purposes only a "certain" small part. From this it follows that the principal mass of atomic materials will as before be directed toward the production of new atomic and hydrogen bombs and that there will remain the full possibility of further stockpiling atomic weapons and for the creation of new types of these weapons with still greater destructive force. Consequently, this proposal in its present form in no way ties the hands of the states which can produce atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Secondly, the proposal of President Eisenhower in no

way limits the very possibility of using atomic weapons. Acceptance of this proposal in no way limits an aggressor in using atomic weapons for any purposes and at any time. Consequently this proposal in no measure lessens the danger of atomic attack.

Thus, one must conclude that in its present form the proposal advanced by the United States neither stops the growing production of atomic weapons nor limits the possibility of using these weapons. In evaluating the actual significance of the proposal in question, one cannot but take this into account.

This proposal would have other significance if it proceeded from the recognition of the necessity for the prohibition of atomic weapons, which are weapons of aggression. But in the speech of the President of the United States of America, there is no reference to the necessity for the prohibition of atomic weapons. The question of prohibiting atomic weapons is passed over in this speech despite the fact that President Eisenhower emphasizes the special danger of atomic weapons which exists for the peoples of the entire world in the present atomic age.

The question arises as to whether one can speak of the necessity of lessening international tension and at the same time pass over the problem of outlawing atomic weapons. To this question, there cannot be two different answers. All who are striving for the lessening of tension in international relations and for the strengthening of peace cannot but demand that governments achieve the most rapid and positive solution of this problem.

It is well known that the anxiety felt by peoples is principally connected with the possibility of the outbreak of atomic war, the danger of which it is impossible to remove without the prohibition of atomic weapons. From the very beginning of its existence this has been recognized by the United Nations which has spoken of the necessity of the prohibition of atomic weapons.

No one can deny the difficulties involved in solving this task. However, it cannot be said that the United Nations and primarily those states particularly concerned have made sufficient effort to reach international agreement on the question of prohibiting atomic weapons and establishing effective international control for enforcing this prohibition. Therefore, it would not be possible to explain to peace-loving peoples a situation in which the solution of this question was further delayed, or if this question were passed by despite its extreme acuteness at this time.

That is why the Soviet Government, as before, considers that the unconditional prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and other weapons of mass destruction as well as simultaneous establishment of strict international supervision over this prohibition is a most important and urgent problem. All peace-loving peoples are interested in the speediest solution of this problem.

If all this means that only a small part of atomic material will be used for peaceful purposes but that the principal mass of these materials, the quantity of which is growing ceaselessly, will be used for the production of increasingly destructive atomic weapons, then the danger of atomic warfare is in no way lessened. This can serve to weaken the people's vigilance with regard to the problem of atomic weapons but cannot contribute to reduction of the real danger of atomic warfare.

If an agreement between states means that only a certain small part of atomic materials is to be allocated for peaceful purposes, while the production of atomic weapons will continue to be limited by nothing, then such an international agreement would, in fact, give direct approval to the production of atomic weapons. International approval of the production of atomic weapons would well suit aggressive forces. Such a situation not only would not make easier achievement of agreement on prohibition of atomic weapons but, on the contrary, would also be a new barrier to the achievement of the aforementioned agreement.

Since we are striving to strengthen the peace, neither the weakening of vigilance with regard to the danger of atomic warfare nor international approval of production of atomic weapons can have a place among our objectives.

For this very reason, it is necessary to recognize that the aim of all peace-loving states is not restricted to allocation of some small part of atomic materials for peaceful purposes. It is essential that not a certain part, but the entire mass of atomic materials be used wholly for peaceful purposes which might open unprecedented possibilities for the development of industry, agriculture, and transport, for the application of very valuable atomic discoveries in medicine, for the improvement of techniques in all areas where applied, and for further and greater scientific progress. Consequently, one should also take into account the fact that the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the use of all atomic materials for the peaceful needs of the people, taken together with proper concern for the needs of economically weaker areas, would at the same time facilitate the possibility of obtaining agreement on the question of decisive reduction in conventional armaments. This, in turn, would lead to a tremendous alleviation of the tax burden which people are bearing in connection with the existence in many states of swollen armies, air forces, navies, i. e., in connection with the armament race which is continuing at present.

All this requires recognition of the necessity for the prohibition of atomic weapons together with the establishment of international supervision over enforcement of this prohibition and unconditional renunciation of the use of this weapon. Therefore, the Soviet Government will continue to insist upon the urgency of reaching an appropriate international agreement on this question.

As for the declaration of President Eisenhower concerning confidential or diplomatic conversations in regard to the proposal made by him, the Soviet Government unswervingly following its peace-loving policy expresses its readiness to take part in these conversations. The Soviet Government has always attached great importance to direct conversations between governments with a view to reaching mutually acceptable agreements on questions in dispute in the interest of the strengthening of universal peace.

In this connection the Soviet Government expects that the Government of the United States in conformity with its declaration will give the necessary clarification inasmuch as the proposal of the United States in its substantive parts contains unclear elements and does not envisage the necessity of the prohibition of atomic weapons nor envisage either renunciation of use of this weapon. The Soviet Government is deeply convinced that humanity must and can be spared the horrors of atomic war. Special responsibility in the decision of this task rests on those governments which already possess the power of the atomic weapon. Insofar as the Soviet Union is concerned its position is completely clear. It consists in turning the great discovery of the human mind not against civilization but for its all around progress, not to the mass destruction of peoples but to peaceful needs, for totally assuring the raising of the wellbeing of the population.

The Soviet Government proceeds from the fact that during the course of these discussions there will be examined simultaneously the following proposal of the Soviet Government:

States parties to the agreement, motivated by a desire to reduce international tension, take upon themselves the solemn and unconditional obligation not to use the atomic, hydrogen, or other weapon of mass destruction. The achievement of an international agreement on this question could be an important step on the road to the full withdrawal from the armaments of states of atomic, hydrogen and other forms of weapons of mass destruction with the establishment of strict international control guaranteeing the execution of the agreement for prohibition of the use of atomic energy for military purposes. The Soviet Union, imbued with deep concern for the protection of humanity against the death-dealing atomic and hydrogen weapons, will do everything in its power to the end that this weapon will never be turned against people.

Facing the New Year With Confidence

Statement by Secretary Dulles¹

As we look ahead, we can have confidence that the next year will make peace and justice more secure. During the year that ends, we have already made great progress and our society of freedom has gained in moral initiative over the forces of reaction.

In Korea the fighting is ended, and we can look forward to 1954 being the first year of peace in Korea since 1949.

In the realm of atomic weapons, President Eisenhower's great address before the United Nations has brought the Soviet Union to agree to take part in talks which may mean a recession of the horror of atomic warfare.

The unnatural and dangerous division of Europe created by the Soviet occupations will, it seems, now be discussed by the Soviet Union despite its efforts over past months to evade this topic.

The unification of Europe becomes at long last a possibility. When, as we expect, this great goal is achieved, then there will be strength and vigor in this home of Western civilization such as it has never known before.

The problems ahead are many and difficult. As we approach them we should all pray for divine guidance. With that we can have confidence that next year will indeed be a Happy New Year.

U.S. Aid to Italy

Press release 4 dated January 6

In response to press inquiries as to assistance to Italy, the Department issued the following statement on January 6:

A substantial program of offshore procurement, which will involve production and employment in Italy, and a limited follow-through program of economic aid including agricultural exports under section 550,² is under active study in the administration. This has been the subject of consultations with Ambassador Luce; with Henry Tasca, Director of U.S. Operations Mission in Italy; and the Chief of the Military Assistance Advisory Group in Italy, General Christianson, during their sessions here in Washington.

Preliminary discussions have also been held with the Government of Italy. It is anticipated that a mutually satisfactory conclusion will be reached.

¹ Broadcast over ABC radio on Jan. 3.

² For the text of sec. 550 of the Mutual Security Act of 1953, see BULLETIN of Nov. 9, 1953, p. 639.

Telecommunications Policy and the Department of State

by Richard T. Black

A moment's reflection will serve to reveal the extent of man's reliance upon the means for a rapid exchange of intelligence. In little more than a century the crude novelties of Morse, Marconi, and Bell have become everyday necessities. In the United States life would be unthinkable for millions of citizens without the telephone. One or more radio receivers are fixtures in almost every home and, as a result of its phenomenal popular acceptance, television is no longer a phenomenon but a commonplace. Less commonly recognized is the staggering demand imposed upon our communications system by the operations of business, industry, and government.

Enormous investments have been made by private industry and by the U. S. Government to meet the need for international communications alone. Foreign trade would occupy a much less significant position in our economy were it not for the easy access to adequate communications facilities enjoyed by commercial interests. In these crucial times the same facilities are indispensable to the Government in maintaining almost instantaneous contact with its listening posts abroad. It is axiomatic that military communications are of the most vital importance, and as an adjunct to the cold war the dissemination of information through broadcasting and other telecommunications¹ services is hardly less significant. The dependence of the press and newsgathering agencies upon overseas communications is so obvious as scarcely to deserve mention. The standards of safety achieved by ocean vessels and more particularly by civil and military aircraft would be impossible in the absence of modern electronic communications and navigational devices.

No clear distinction can be made between national and international communications. At the present stage of technical development, the radio-frequency spectrum is a limited resource incapable

of satisfying the claims of all potential users. Nor can electro-magnetic radio waves be confined within national borders. They travel freely across the earth, interfering with other, similar waves when not controlled by international agreement. The continued expansion of radio, wire, and cable facilities is necessarily accompanied by negotiations for their construction, maintenance, and use.

In no field of scientific advance is the technological shrinking of the world more apparent than in telecommunications; in none is the need for co-operative leadership more pressing. Within the United States the limited resources of communications are sought by a number of claimant agencies, each of whose needs must be evaluated and somehow met. The responsibility for this task is shared between the President, acting through various government agencies of the Executive branch, and the Congress, principally through the Federal Communications Commission. Wherever domestic requirements impinge upon the corresponding requirements of other countries, there must be a focal point for the coordination of interests. Under its overall responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs, the Department of State, and within the Department the Telecommunications Policy Staff, is charged with this coordinating function. Internationally, the common meeting ground for the exposition and resolution of telecommunications problems is found within the framework of the International Telecommunication Union, (ITU) a specialized agency of the United Nations.

The International Telecommunication Union derives from the earlier International Telegraph Union, which was established in 1865. The earliest of the international organizations boasting a continuously operating administrative structure, the Telegraph Union exerted a substantial influence upon the structure of later organizations, notably the League of Nations. Although the original aims of the Union were modest, being primarily concerned with wire telegraphy on the European continent, the creation of such an organization was indicative of the need for international cooperation in the orderly development of com-

¹ In annex 2 of the International Telecommunication Convention (Atlantic City, 1947) "telecommunication" is defined as any transmission, emission, or reception of signs, signals, writing, images and sounds, or intelligence of any nature by wire, radio, visual, or other electro-magnetic systems.

munications. With the emergence of radio the Union attracted worldwide participation.

Prince Henry's Plight

The first International Radio Conference was held at Berlin in 1903 as a result of difficulties experienced by Prince Henry of Prussia during his voyage home after a visit to the United States. His attempts to send a courtesy message to President Theodore Roosevelt were thwarted by the refusal of the British Marconi Company to transmit traffic from a ship station of its German competitor. When advised of this incident, the German Emperor enlisted the support of President Roosevelt in efforts to reach an international agreement prohibiting the refusal by shore stations of messages from ships at sea.

The resulting protocol embodied this principle and others which remain the basic law of international radio regulations to this day—notably, the recognition of priority for distress calls, the regulation of radio services to avoid interference between stations, and the exemption of military services from the radio regulations except for the provisions relating to distress calls and interference. Significant progress was made in 1927 when the first international table of radio-frequency allocations was adopted. In spite of limitations imposed by established ship services in the high-frequency range and by the existence of many mixed service stations, a guide was thus formulated for policing the radio spectrum. The administrative consolidation of principles and regulations governing the operations of radio, telephone, and telegraph eventually was accomplished by the Madrid Telecommunications Convention of 1932, at which time the Telegraph Union was supplanted by the International Telecommunication Union.

As new techniques were developed, higher frequency bands were opened up. Improved navigational aids, aeronautical communications, land mobile stations, television, and FM broadcasting services made their appearance or reached promising stages of development. The exigencies of World War II were met by great technical advances and a consequent further increase in the demand for high frequencies. The resulting overcrowding of the high-frequency broadcasting bands created serious interference problems.

To cope with the expanding services and the disorder occasioned by the war, a further International Telecommunication Conference was convened in 1947 at Atlantic City, N. J.² Probably the most important single accomplishment of the conference was the general acceptance of a new frequency allocation table. By now, however, the structure of the Union itself was seriously inade-

quate and a drastic reorganization was brought about by the new International Telecommunication Convention. This convention established the Plenipotentiary Conference as the supreme organ of the International Telecommunication Union. The Plenipotentiary Conference normally meets once every 5 years; the first meeting was held in 1952 at Buenos Aires, where a slightly revised convention was signed.³

The Atlantic City Convention made further provision for an Administrative Council which meets at least once a year to insure the continuity of functions between plenipotentiary conferences. Through the instrument of the Council the Union is able to deal promptly with problems of policy. The Bureau of the Union was reorganized into a General Secretariat with increased responsibilities, and the three permanent technical committees, which conduct studies and issue recommendations on technical, operating, and tariff questions, were brought into a closer relationship with the Union. These three committees are the International Telegraph Consultative Committee, the International Telephone Consultative Committee, and the International Radio Consultative Committee. Corresponding to their work and subordinate to the Convention are three sets of international technical regulations which provide a uniform code of operations for the international telegraph, telephone, and radio industries. The regulations are periodically revised at administrative conferences held every 5 years.

A major innovation of the International Telecommunication Convention of 1947 was the creation of an International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB) of 11 members to give further impetus to the economic use of radio frequencies. The fundamental concept of such a board was embodied in United States proposals at Atlantic City. Although the Board as finally constituted differs in some aspects from that envisaged by the United States, it has shown promise of becoming an exceedingly useful instrument in the resolution of international frequency problems.

U.S. Leadership in Telecommunications

It is not surprising that the United States is the greatest user of world telecommunications facilities. The vastly increased scope of U.S. participation in world affairs, the assumption of larger international responsibilities, the influence exerted by U.S. private and public agencies abroad, and the resulting amplified role of communications have left this Government no choice

³ *International Telecommunication Convention*, Buenos Aires 1952, containing Final Protocol to the Convention, Additional Protocols to the Convention, Resolutions, Recommendations and Opinion, published by General Secretariat of the International Telecommunication Union, Geneva, 1953; also available as S. Exec. R., 83d Cong., 1st Sess.

² For an article on the conference, see *BULLETIN* of Nov. 30, 1947, p. 1033.

but to assume active and energetic leadership in all phases of international telecommunications activities.

For a number of years the Department of State was concerned primarily with the legal aspects of telecommunications arising as a consequence of this country's participation in a number of conventions and agreements and, eventually, its membership in the International Telecommunication Union. Accordingly, the related Departmental functions were assigned to the Treaty Division in 1935. By 1938 the increasing complexity of problems having both political and economic implications led to the incorporation of telecommunications responsibilities in the newly created Division of International Communications. In the face of war-occasioned burdens and the prospect of their continuation in the postwar period, further adjustments were made with the establishment of the Office of Transport and Communications in January 1944, at which time the Telecommunications Division, now the Telecommunications Policy Staff, was created.

It is the objective of the Department to achieve a telecommunications policy which parallels the political and economic foreign policy of the United States with the specific aim of insuring that the Government, private organizations, and citizens are afforded the opportunity to compete on an equitable basis for the use of available communications facilities in order that each may receive the maximum benefits consistent with a fair return for services rendered. This concept involves negotiations for the establishment and regulation of facilities which will most effectively serve and protect the communications interest of the United States; opposition to discriminatory practices in this field wherever they may arise; and the advocacy of low, uniform rates which will provide adequate revenue to the private operating companies. The Telecommunications Policy Staff is responsible for the initiation and coordination of policy activities which will achieve these objectives in coordination with the Federal Communications Commission, the Department of Defense, and other departments and agencies concerned.

The Chief of the Telecommunications Policy Staff represents the United States on the Administrative Council of the International Telecommunication Union. In the fulfillment of other responsibilities the Staff is represented on numerous interdepartmental committees. The Telecommunications Coordinating Committee, for example, was established in 1946, principally to advise the Department of State on problems of international telecommunications policy. It acts only in an advisory capacity but can take final action when specifically authorized by unanimous concurrence of all government agencies represented by its membership. Its chairman is the Director of the Office of Transport and Communications, and its members include representa-

tives from the Departments of the Treasury, Army, Navy, Air Force, and Commerce, and the Federal Communications Commission, and an observer from the Bureau of the Budget.

One of the oldest of the U.S. telecommunications coordinating mechanisms is the Interdepartmental Radio Advisory Committee (IRAC) which was created in 1922. Under law the President is responsible for assigning radio frequencies for use by U.S. Government stations. Such assignments are accomplished periodically through the instrument of Executive orders. In actual practice, the IRAC, as a Presidential advisory agency, may be said to assign frequencies to government radio stations, thus paralleling the similar function performed by the Federal Communications Commission in relation to nongovernment stations. In addition to its frequency assignment functions, the IRAC furnishes advice and assistance to the President and the Federal agencies on various technical matters of interagency interest. One of its current major activities relates to plans for the frequency-band clearance and frequency shifts required to implement the frequency-allocation table in the Atlantic City Radio Regulations of 1947.

International Allocation of Frequencies

This allocation plan grew out of intensive efforts by the members of the Iru in recognition of the serious need for a greatly expanded allocation table. Differing little in its fundamentals from previous plans, it nonetheless accomplished the tremendous task of scientifically allocating frequency bands to all existing radio services. Particular provision was made for additional exclusive frequency bands for the international broadcasting and aeronautical services. Having spent more than 4 months in the development of the allocation table, the conferees were unable to proceed to the next stage, the implementation of the table through assignment of specific frequencies to the hundreds of stations to be accommodated within the broad allocations by services. Instead, the conference created a temporary body known as the Provisional Frequency Board (PrFB) for the purpose of formulating an international frequency list which would attempt to provide for the legitimate needs of all countries on the basis of sound engineering principles.⁴ It was intended that as many countries as possible be represented on this Board, which commenced work in Geneva in January 1948. The United States was represented by a large delegation of engineers from government and private industry.

In view of the size and complexity of the problem, it had been further provided that frequency lists for certain bands should be prepared by special conferences convened for that purpose. Thus,

⁴ For an article on the work of the Board, see BULLETIN of Apr. 9, 1951, p. 593.

two conferences were held in 1949 and 1950 to prepare a frequency assignment plan for high-frequency broadcasting stations. During 1948 and 1949 conferences convened in Switzerland to develop an aeronautical radio-frequency plan. In addition, efforts were made to reach agreement on frequency assignment plans for the several regions of the world. Of these various conferences only the Aeronautical Administrative Conferences were entirely successful in achieving satisfactory agreements.

The original concept had been that the frequency lists resulting from the special conferences would be incorporated with the master list prepared by the Provisional Frequency Board for final approval by an Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference which would also establish the date when the Atlantic City frequency allocations would take effect. Unfortunately this concept could not be realized. The task assigned to the Provisional Frequency Board was much more complex than had been envisaged at Atlantic City, largely as a consequence of the narrower frequency bands allotted to the fixed services under the Atlantic City Table. In general the countries of the world submitted frequency requirements far in excess of their actual or foreseeable needs and well beyond the capacity of the frequency spectrum to accommodate the desired services. Furthermore, the work of the PRB was carried out in a period of increasingly disturbed world conditions accompanied by a diminution of sincere co-operative effort. As a result the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference scheduled to convene at The Hague in 1950 was postponed. Subsequently, however, a resolution of the ITR Administrative Council proposing that the conference meet at Geneva in August 1951 was overwhelmingly approved by the Union's membership. The conference was convened as scheduled and the resulting agreement was signed on December 3, 1951.

Results of Geneva Conference

Although the PRB had been unable to produce an acceptable master frequency list, it made significant contributions to further progress. Through its efforts the obstacles to implementation of the Atlantic City plan were more clearly defined, and an enormous amount of data was collected with respect to the actual use of frequencies. The impracticability of devising an overall assignment plan had been demonstrated, and the Geneva Conference faced the task of bringing about the desired implementation of allocations by other means.

A possible solution lay in the practical expedient of a gradual implementation based on actual frequency usage and without reference to final dates for the completion of this process. Being less crowded, that portion of the spectrum above 27.5

megacycles presented no great problem. The previously adopted plan for the shifting of the aeronautical mobile services into their allotted bands was available for implementation. Similar accord was reached at the Geneva Conference on a method for transfer of the Maritime Mobile Services into their Atlantic City bands. It was envisaged that, through the evolutionary process of such partial realignments, the fixed, land-mobile, and tropical broadcasting services over a period of time would have no alternative but to conform to their proper allocations, and such has been the encouraging tendency in actual practice.

As the agreed plans have taken effect the gradual occupancy of frequencies previously used by other services has in turn caused the latter to seek frequencies within their allotted bands. It was also agreed to employ the gradual adjustment procedure for high-frequency broadcasting stations, and the International Frequency Registration Board was instructed to prepare an International HF Broadcasting Frequency List on the basis of pre-engineered plans taking into account the actual requirements of all countries.

A further decision was reached that the 1955 session of the Administrative Council should review reports prepared by the IFRB on the progress made under the gradual adjustment process for the fixed, land-mobile, and tropical broadcasting stations and the plans made for the high-frequency broadcasting stations to determine whether or not a definite date could then be established for bringing the Atlantic City Table into force. If so, the Administrative Council would make its recommendation to the ITR membership for its approval. If not, it would consider similar reports from the IFRB at each subsequent session of the Council until it became practical to establish such a date.

In the meantime remarkable progress has been achieved. The United States, having exercised its leadership in the authorship and activation of plans for the orderly sharing of radio frequencies among the nations of the world, must meet its own obligations to conform with those plans. Already more than 50 percent of the changes affecting U.S. services as a result of the EARC agreement have been implemented, and this trend may be expected to continue.

Such advances, though impressive, represent but a small segment's interest in the furtherance of U.S. telecommunications objectives. In the field of radio alone the problems are extremely diverse. There are, for example, more than 2,500 broadcasting stations in the United States. Although it is possible to minimize domestic problems of interference between those stations through the regulatory activities of the Federal Communications Commission, international agreements are necessary to provide the same degree of protection between broadcasting stations in neighboring countries.

Recognizing the seriousness of this mutual problem, the countries of the North American region, namely, Canada, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico, the United Kingdom (in respect of the Bahamas and Jamaica), and the United States, have in the past negotiated agreements designed to harmonize the use of frequencies in the medium-wave broadcasting bands. Two such agreements have already expired by their terms of reference. A third, which was negotiated more than 2 years ago and was signed by all of the countries concerned except Haiti and Mexico, has so far been ratified only by Cuba. In view of the tremendous investments of time and money in U.S. standard-band broadcasting and of its far-reaching influence as an information and advertising medium, the Department believes it highly desirable that this agreement be ratified. In the absence of such an international instrument, the United States inevitably will be faced with difficulties having no legal basis for settlement.

Prospects for International Television

The tremendous strides made in the field of television during the period since World War II are awesomely apparent, particularly in the United States. The continuing expansion of this communications medium again raises questions of an international character. The Department has long recognized that the full potentialities of television will be realized only with the development of unhampered visual communication between nations.

From a technical standpoint, present facilities do not make feasible the widespread international exchange of televised information. During the early stages of research and experimentation, engineers in different countries proceeded independently of each other and as a result television systems became established on varying technical standards. The United Kingdom, for example, employs a system producing an image of 405 lines; France has two systems producing images of 441 and 819 lines; a number of other Western European countries use 625 lines; the United States and a number of Western Hemisphere countries use 525 lines.

In spite of concerted attempts to formulate recommendations for standards permitting the international exchange of television programs, economic and political factors have precluded the universal adoption of existing experimental and publicly operating systems. It is unlikely that complete uniformity will ever be achieved, although recent findings and studies show promise of methods by which television signals may be converted for rebroadcast between countries with differing technical standards. The 525-line and the 625-line systems have a compatibility feature not present in other systems which makes possible the reception of signals from either of the two

systems. Through minor receiver adjustments, the programs of countries employing different systems may thus become available to audiences near international boundaries. It is the policy of the United States to encourage the development of compatible television systems not only in the Western Hemisphere, where progress is encouraging, but among all nations in order that audiences everywhere may someday have access to this extraordinary instrument for understanding between peoples.

Past prophecies in the communications field have been exceeded many times, and it is increasingly difficult to keep pace with the march of technical advancement. The flowering of radio techniques has been accompanied by equally impressive developments in other sectors of the electronics industry. The telephone and ocean cable systems of the world have achieved an enviable record of dependable service, and it is anticipated that their role will continue to increase in importance. The tremendous accretion of communications facilities brought about by radio has not sufficed to accommodate the still greater increase in the need for communications and electronic devices.

A growing number of experts close to the problem of radio frequency management have concluded that the time will come when communications between fixed points of transmission and reception will be carried by wire and cable wherever possible. Through augmented cable facilities it is not unlikely that the telephone subscriber of the future will be heard by his counterpart in London, Paris, or beyond as clearly and conveniently as local callers are heard today. The telegraph sender, already efficiently accommodated, will become the beneficiary of further technological improvements. The communications industry relies upon government for the furtherance of its aims. Through the coordination of overall U.S. interests at home and the promotion of those interests abroad, the Department of State makes its own contribution to the progressive expansion of world telecommunications facilities.

• *Mr. Black, author of the above article, is a foreign affairs officer in the Telecommunications Policy Staff, Office of Transport and Communications Policy.*

Emergency Relief for Hong Kong Fire Victims

Following is the text of a statement made by Harold E. Stassen, Director of Foreign Operations, at a press conference on January 4:

To provide emergency help to some 60,000 escapees from Communist China, whose settlements were gutted by a Christmas fire in the British

Crown Colony of Hong Kong, FOA over the weekend authorized \$150,000 out of its Escapee Program funds toward the procurement of shelter, food, and medical care for the homeless.

The funds are being made available to the relief authorities in Hong Kong through the United States Consul General there. The British Government in Hong Kong has already provided £200,000 (\$500,000) for disaster relief. Other action already taken by the free world to alleviate the distress of escapees from Red China includes a \$10,000 gift from the Pope, in addition to efforts by various voluntary agencies.

President Eisenhower and the United States Congress have long recognized the need for assistance to refugees who have fled the Soviet orbit in pursuit of a life that can be lived in freedom and human dignity. When a catastrophe such as the Christmas fire at Hong Kong strikes, it is a true expression of the humanity of the people of the United States to relieve suffering by helping to provide food, shelter, and medical care for freedom-loving people in distress. I am confident that these United States funds will bring substantial help to the refugees from Red China and give them new hope as the new year begins.

FOA received \$9 million this year for the administration of the escapee and refugee program for relief and resettlement throughout the world. The major efforts to date have been in Western Europe and the Near East. This is the second recent use of funds to assist refugees from Red China.

India's Railway System To Receive FOA Aid

India's railway system, vital to communications within the country, will receive 100 new locomotives and 5,000 new freight cars as part of United States economic aid to India in the current fiscal year, it was announced on December 28 by the Foreign Operations Administration.

An agreement signed in New Delhi by representatives of the FOA Mission to India and the Government of India calls for expenditures of \$20 million of U.S. funds and 32 million rupees (about \$6.73 million) on the project. The Indian Government will deposit the equivalent of \$20 million in rupees in a fund to be used on further development projects agreed to by the Indian and American Governments.

United States funds will go for purchase of the locomotives and freight cars outside of India. It is expected that bids will be received from most countries of the free world having facilities to manufacture railroad rolling stock. Rupee costs will be used for ocean transportation to India, handling costs and assembly of freight cars imported under the agreement.

The project is part of the rehabilitation of

Indian railroads under India's Five Year Plan.

With 34,123 miles of track, the Indian railways system is the fourth largest in the world, exceeded only by the United States, the Soviet Union, and Canada. The system carries 80 percent of internal freight traffic and 70 percent of passenger traffic. It employs more than 900,000 persons. The average daily number of trains is 3,877 and the number of passengers carried more than three million. Because of the pressure of traffic on available facilities, the passenger system is probably the most crowded in the world.

Indian railways have been in operation 100 years. The present situation, calling for replacement of many over-age locomotives, arises largely from the strains placed on the system in World War II. Despite a large increase in volume of traffic, Indian railways, even with their own shortages, released a large number of locomotives and cars for various theaters of war, abroad as well as in India.

Under the 5-year development plan, India has already placed orders for 769 locomotives and will place orders for 500 or more during the last 2 years of the plan. Similarly orders have been placed for 32,293 new freight cars already, and 29,000 more will be ordered in the last 2 years of the plan.

By March 1956, however, some 3,600 locomotives will be over 40 years old. It is estimated that once the accumulated arrears of repairs and replacements are overtaken, the present level of traffic can be moved with about 7,800 locomotives with an average age of 20 years. At this level, replacement requirements will be about 200 locomotives a year, well within the productive capacity of India's two locomotive plants.

Some 73,000 freight cars are over-aged already or will be during the period of the Five Year Plan. The normal annual requirement, once arrears are cleared, would be about 6,000 cars and this also can be met from present manufacturing capacity.

The element of railway transport is closely involved with other sectors of the economic development program now under way in India. Food grains, other agricultural products and mineral products including coal, manganese, and other ores, make up 60 percent of the freight tonnage of the railways. Efficient transport is imperative not only for the sustenance and development of the country but for maintenance of essential exports to foreign countries.

American aid to India in the past 2 years has been devoted primarily to measures to increase agricultural production, a top priority area of the Five Year Plan. This has included import of fertilizer, along with technical assistance for expansion of India's own new Sindri fertilizer plant, the biggest in Asia. It has also included import of iron and steel for farm implements, to augment India's own steel output, and projects for drilling irrigation wells, adding to the thousands already in existence.

Heavy equipment has been imported to help speed up construction of flood control and irrigation dams on India's rivers, for which the country itself is making a large financial outlay. The Indo-American technical program includes also a community development program, to bring better cultivation methods, better health practices, and literacy training to the nation's rural population.

Technical Cooperation Survey In Surinam and British Guiana

The departure of a group of American technicians for Surinam and British Guiana in January to discuss the initiation of programs of technical cooperation for those countries was announced on December 23 by the Foreign Operations Administration.

The survey group is being sent to the two countries in response to requests from their governments which were transmitted to FOA by the Netherlands and the United Kingdom Governments.

Eugene Clay, Director of the Northern Latin American Division of FOA, and W. Alan Laffin, FOA Regional Engineer for Latin America, will head the group. Other members will include specialists in the fields of agriculture, education, health, and community development.

The economy of Surinam is largely agricultural. Its most important products are rice, citrus fruits, coffee, sugar, cocoa, and coconuts. The country has large forests but has not been able to develop its wood industry adequately mainly because of transportation difficulties. As a result, the logging work has been concentrated along the banks of the country's rivers.

The chief mineral being exploited presently is bauxite, and the country is the largest exporter of this material. In 1952, 3 million tons were exported.

The suggested technical cooperation program may involve projects in the fields of agriculture, forestry and fisheries, vocational and agricultural training, housing, internal transportation and distribution, and perhaps public health.

The economy of British Guiana is largely dependent on sugar cane and the government is interested in technical cooperation programs to help improve the standard of living of agricultural workers.

Export-Import Bank Reports on 1953 Activities

The Export-Import Bank of Washington announced on January 7 that during the 6 months ended December 31, 1953, it had made new loan

commitments in the amount of \$172 million for the purpose of promoting the foreign trade of the United States and, in addition, allocated \$12.5 million under credits previously authorized. For the entire calendar year 1953 the bank's new credit commitments amounted to \$559 million.

In this same 6 months period the bank disbursed \$424.3 million under loan authorizations. Disbursements for the calendar year 1953 totaled \$647 million, during which time collection of principal payments on all loans totaled \$305 million.

For the calendar year the total revenue of the bank from interest on loans amounted to \$80 million and expenses amounted to \$26.2 million of which \$25.2 million was paid as interest on funds borrowed from the U. S. Treasury and \$1 million paid out for operating expenses. Deductions of these expenses from gross revenue left net earnings for the calendar year of \$53.8 million and for the final 6 months of \$27.9 million.

In June the Directors approved the payment of a \$22.5 million dividend to the Treasury of the United States representing 2¼ percent on the \$1 billion of capital stock of the bank, all of which is held by the Treasury. This dividend was paid out of the net earnings during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953. The bank's undivided profits for the 6 months ended December 31, 1953, together with the accumulated reserve for possible contingencies, aggregate \$323.6 million.

The credits authorized during the 6 months ended December 31, 1953, increased the total of credits authorized by the bank from the time of its establishment in February 1934 to \$6.5 billion. As of December 31, 1953, the total amount disbursed under such authorizations was \$4.5 billion. Of this amount \$1.7 billion has been repaid.

Loans outstanding on December 31, 1953, amounted to \$2.8 billion, and the unutilized portion of established active credits was \$519.1 million. The uncommitted lending authority of the bank stood at \$1.1 billion at the year end.

In addition to its operations with its own funds, the Export-Import Bank as agent for the Foreign Operations Administration paid \$34.3 million to the U. S. Treasury during the current calendar year from collections made under provisions of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, as amended, relating to approximately \$1.5 billion in loans to 17 countries.

Reorganization Plan No. 5 to Congress,¹ transmitted by the President on April 30, 1953, went into effect on August 5, 1953, when Maj. Gen. Glen E. Edgerton took office as Managing Director and assumed the functions formerly performed by the 5-man Board of Directors. The Managing Director is assisted by a Deputy Director, Lynn U. Stambaugh, and an Assistant Director, Hawthorne Arey.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of July 13, 1953, p. 49.

U.N. Command Defines Position on Nonrepatriated War Prisoners

Following are the texts of (1) a statement made by General John E. Hull, United Nations Commander, on December 23 and (2) a letter from General Hull delivered on December 28 to General K. S. Thimayya, Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, setting forth the United Nations Command position on the return to civilian status of nonrepatriated prisoners of war in Korea:

STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 23

The terms of reference for the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, signed at Panmunjom on June 8 of this year¹ as an annex to the armistice agreement which later halted armed conflict in Korea, resolved an issue which alone had protracted the cease-fire discussions for more than a year.

The issue was the right of a Pow who resists repatriation to seek asylum and of a detaining power to grant it. This right is based on respect under the law for individual freedom and human dignity. To uphold it the UNC fought throughout the long and at times frustrating negotiations.

Paragraph 11 of the terms of reference provide that at the expiration of 90 days after the transfer of custody of Pow to the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, access to captured personnel by representatives of their original sides shall terminate. That 90-day period of explanations comes to an end on December 23.

Paragraph 11 provides that as of the end of the day of 22 January these men will become entitled to their freedom as civilians. There will no longer be authority for their custody by the Indian troops. As civilians they are to be enabled to go to any available country of their choice. Public statements made by representatives of the ROK and the National Government of the Republic of China contain open invitations to the nearly 8,000 Korean and more than 14,000 Chinese anti-Communists, respectively, in the south CRI camp to make their new homes in the ROK and in the territory under the control of the National Government of the

Republic of China. Representatives of these 2 nations are being informed that my command will use all available facilities to expedite the movement of the individuals who desire to go to those countries. Under paragraph 11 of the terms of reference to the NNRC and the Indian Red Cross are to assist any individual who may wish to apply to go to neutral countries elsewhere in the world.

It is regrettable that Communist obstructions have caused disagreements and disrupted the explanations to nonrepatriate Pow. Despite the fact that agreement was once reached concerning the fundamental rights of these thousands of prisoners, the Communists have persisted in employing their habitual frustrating tactics to the extent that the work of the NNRC has been interfered with and the already difficult job of the Custodial Force, India, greatly complicated.

With the expiration of this period of explanations, I desire to express my profound admiration and respect for the Indian troops. In their unique and sensitive mission these officers and men have demonstrated an almost unprecedented capacity for military firmness and humane restraint. Their rigid adherence to mandate imposed upon them by the terms of reference has earned them the plaudits of all fairminded nations of the world and an unshakable confidence in their ability to continue their duty in the same splendid manner until their mission is completed some 30 days hence.

LETTER TO GENERAL THIMAYYA

DEAR GENERAL THIMAYYA:

I have read carefully the interim report concurred in by the Indian, Czechoslovakian and Polish dele-

¹ BULLETIN of June 22, 1953, p. 866.

gations and the interim report prepared and signed by the Swedish and Swiss delegations. I have also read the accompanying communications indicating the manner in which failure to agree to a single point developed. Of the two reports, I find that prepared by the Swedish and Swiss delegations much more objective, factual and indicative of the operations of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission.

In view of the fact that the 90-day period for explanations has now terminated, and because the issues during this phase of Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission operations have been so clearly identified by both reports, I see little positive value to be gained by expressing detailed opinions on such issue. However, in order to clarify unmistakably the position of the United Nations Command on what I consider to be certain key elements, I am constrained to submit once more a reiteration of certain salient points:

A. The United Nations Command categorically denies any implication that we have attempted, in any way, to exercise control to the slightest degree over prisoners in the south camp by the introduction of agents provocateur, or that we have attempted to maintain any type of covert intelligence network.

B. The allegation that prisoners alone in the south camp were responsible for the failure to complete explanations I find totally unacceptable. Although the United Nations Command had no permanent representation in either the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission or custodian force, India, it appears clearly obvious from reports received from our duly authorized liaison, observation and explainer personnel, as well as from official statements of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission itself, that the primary causes of failure were due to:

(1) The severe disappointment of the representatives of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers at their inability to secure more than a nominal percentage of returnees from groups receiving explanations.

(2) The delaying tactics adopted by Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers including:

(A) Unreasonable and changing demands for facilities.

(B) Refusal to accept reasonable numbers of willing prisoners for explanations during each day.

(C) Refusal of Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers to utilize available explaining time unless the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and Custodian Force, India conformed to all their demands which in-

cluded the use of force and other impracticable actions.

C. The United Nations Command, on the other hand, supports fully the strong stand taken by the Indian, Swedish and Swiss delegations prohibiting the use of force against defenseless prisoners.

D. The terms of reference plainly specify that explanations would be terminated as of 23 December 1953. We therefore cannot accept any alternate proposal which may be made by any other agency on this point, just as we shall not accept any other proposal which amends the date 22 January, the last day upon which prisoners in Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission custody can be denied their freedom.

E. The termination date of custody, 22 January 1954, 120 days after the Neutral Repatriation Commission originally assumed custody, is fixed and does not depend on the holding of any political conference, the holding of which was, by terms of the armistice agreement, to be recommended to their respective governments by the commanders of each side in the Korean conflict.

With specific reference to that part of your letter of 28 December 1953 (forwarding the aforementioned reports) which discusses the action to be taken by the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission now that the explanation period has ended and no political conference is in session, I believe the foregoing views are sufficiently clear to serve as a basis for a sound and logical course of action. As of 230001 1 January 1954, prisoners now in custody of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, having then become entitled to civilian status are free to move to destinations of their choice. For those who wish to be assisted by the United Nations Command, I suggest that they be moved south in orderly, manageable groups and according to a phased schedule, so that they may be received at a mutually agreed upon location along the southern boundary of the demilitarized zone. The United Nations Command is fully prepared to receive them and aid them to move to destinations of their choice to settle into peaceful civilian pursuits.

For those who may apply to go to neutral nations, the United Nations Command (as previously outlined to you) stands ready to assist the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in care and disposition during the period 22 January-21 February. Whether we can continue assistance after 21 February will depend upon the situation then prevailing; I can, however, assure you of our cooperation insofar as practicable in my capacity as a military commander.

With assurances of my continued esteem, I am, sincerely yours, J. E. HULL, *General, United States Army, Commander-in-Chief.*

Report of U.N. Command Operations in Korea

SEVENTY-FIFTH REPORT: FOR THE PERIOD AUGUST 1-15, 1953¹

U.N. doc. S/3148
Dated December 4, 1953

I herewith submit report number 75 of the United Nations Command Operations in Korea for the period 1-15 August 1953, inclusive.

The period 1-15 August marked the beginning of the implementation of the Armistice Agreement. The result of long and careful planning by the United Nations Command became evident as the various agencies and support groups established by the United Nations Command to carry out the implementation were phased into operation on schedule.

After the exchange of credentials by both sides the Military Armistice Commission held frequent meetings for the purpose of adopting procedures agreeable to both sides.

Agreement was reached on method of operation of Joint Observer Teams which were dispatched to their assigned areas. Marking of boundaries, clearing of hazards and construction of the various installations were begun within the Demilitarized Zone.

Agreement was also reached on Civil Police and the type of arms they may carry within the Demilitarized Zone. Neutral Nations Inspection Teams were dispatched to the Ports of Entry of both sides.

During the first week in August an advance party representing the Indian contingent of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and the Custodial Forces, India, arrived in Tokyo. This group was headed by Mr. N. K. Nehru and Major General Thorat. The Indians were briefed at United Nations Command Headquarters on the

arrangements made by the United Nations Command for the reception of Indian troops into the Demilitarized Zone, including movement, quarters and logistical support to be provided. After this first briefing the Indian party was flown to Korea where they were met by the Senior Member of the United Nations Command Military Armistice Commission and further briefed at the site of their prospective operations. The group then proceeded to the Communist Headquarters where they remained for two days. Upon their return to Munsan-ni the Indian party met with the Senior Member United Nations Command Military Armistice Commission and his staff at which time the two groups drafted a tentative "Memorandum of Understanding", with regard to facilities and support to be furnished by the United Nations Command to the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission installation within the Demilitarized Zone on the United Nations Command side of the Demarcation Line. The Indian party then returned to Tokyo where one more short conference was held at United Nations Command Headquarters. At this conference the tentative "Memorandum of Understanding", was discussed with representatives of the Commander in Chief's, United Nations Command, staff to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. The Indian Advance Party then departed Tokyo for India.

Adhering scrupulously to the terms of the Armistice Agreement for the repatriation of captured personnel, the United Nations Command commenced delivery to the Communists on 5 August 1953, of those prisoners of war who had expressed a desire for direct repatriation. Detailed plans, which had been prepared long in advance, were implemented in order to insure orderly and efficient delivery in accordance with the daily schedules agreed upon by both sides. Particular care was taken to provide for the safety, comfort and well being of the sick and injured personnel to be repatriated by our side.

As was the case during the exchange of sick and injured captured personnel during April and May 1953, the main difficulties encountered in the deliveries were created, not by the numerous logistical and other problems normally to be expected during a move of this magnitude, but by the prisoners themselves. Early in the exchange, Communist returnees, obviously under orders, ripped newly issued clothing, cast aside comfort items and, in

¹ Transmitted on Dec. 3 to the Secretary-General, for circulation to members of the Security Council, by the U.S. representative to the U.N. Text of the 50th report appears in the BULLETIN of Dec. 15, 1952, p. 958; the 51st and 52d reports, Dec. 29, 1952, p. 1034; the 53d report, Jan. 26, 1953, p. 155; the 54th report, Feb. 9, 1953, p. 224; the 55th report, Feb. 16, 1953, p. 276; the 56th report, Mar. 2, 1953, p. 348; excerpts from the 57th, 58th, and 59th reports, May 11, 1953, p. 690; excerpts from the 61st, 64th, and 65th reports, July 13, 1953, p. 50; excerpts from the 67th, 68th, and 69th reports, Sept. 28, 1953, p. 423; excerpts from the 70th, 71st, 72d, and 73d reports, Jan. 4, 1954, p. 30; and the 74th report, Jan. 11, 1954, p. 61. The 60th, 62d, 63d, and 66th reports were omitted from the BULLETIN.

general, tried to present as dismal a picture as possible for the Communist photographers who were conveniently on hand. Positive evidence that the United Nations Command had provided adequate food and medical care for all the prisoners of war in its custody was plain for all to see, and was duly recorded by press representatives.

In spite of all the difficulties and obstacles placed in the United Nations Command path by the returning hard core Communists, the United Nations Command handled its portion of the exchange with patience and firmness. By the end of the period of this report, a total of 29,630 prisoners in United Nations Command custody had been returned to Communist control.

Meanwhile, as those United Nations Command repatriates from Communist control began telling their individual stories, it became increasingly clear that the enemy had taken every measure possible to instill in the minds of their captives that the United Nations, and especially the United States, had started the war. The conditions of the first returnees bore mute evidence of the inadequate and often brutal treatment United Nations Command prisoners had suffered at the hands of the Communists. By 15 August, the following numbers of United Nations Command personnel had been released from Communist captivity and were well on their way to home and loved ones:

United States	957
Other United Nations	693
Republic of Korea	2, 726
Total	4, 376

At 2200 hours on 27 July, the order to cease fire was complied with by United Nations Command divisions along the entire battle front and withdrawal to new defensive positions south of the Demilitarized Zone was begun.

Seventy-two hours after the cessation of hostilities all United Nations Command troops had withdrawn south of the zone. Subsequently unarmed troops returned to the southern half of the Demilitarized Zone to clear mine fields and other hazards to the safe movement of personnel of the Military Armistice Commission and its Joint Observer Teams. Other unarmed troops were engaged in salvaging equipment, and marking the southern border of the Demilitarized Zone. These operations continued throughout the period.

Meanwhile, south of the zone United Nations Command troops were expeditiously re-establishing their new lines of defense and instituting a training programme designed to maintain a high degree of morale and combat readiness.

In accordance with the Armistice Agreement all hostilities ceased and the United Nations Naval Blockade of the Korean Coast was terminated at 2200 on 27 July. One of the immediate tasks of the United Nations Naval Forces became the evacuation of the coastal islands of Korea. On 2 August, United Nations Command Naval Forces reported that the withdrawal of personnel, supplies and equipment had been completed from all islands north of the southern boundary of the Demilitarized Zone off the east coast of Korea and from islands lying to the north and west of the provincial boundary line between Hwanghae Do and Kyonggi-Do off the west coast except the

island groups of Paengyong Do, Taechong Do, Sochong Do, Yonpyong Do (including Kunyonpyong Do and Soyongyong Do), and U-Do which are to remain under the military control of the Commander-in-Chief United Nations Command.

The basic concept of all United Nations Naval operations in the first post Armistice fifteen-day period has been that of maintaining forces in position to counter immediately further aggression or attack; conduct training exercises, and achieve a high state of material readiness. Immediately following the signing of the Armistice, units not required in execution of initial tasks or in operating areas adjacent to Korea were placed in a maintenance status.

United Nations Naval aircraft operating from fast attack carriers in the Sea of Japan conducted intensive training exercises, maintained an alert state of readiness, and at all times complied with the provisions of the Military Armistice Agreement. One thousand and one hundred seventy-eight sorties were flown during the period. The largest percentage of these were training flights.

During this period the feasibility of obtaining a marked impact area in East Korea to be used for training purposes was investigated. At the close of the period an area was under preparation and will be available about 1 September.

A United Nations Command carrier has been selected as a helicopter landing platform in order to lift approximately 5000 Indian troops from Inchon to the Demilitarized Zone. The troops are scheduled to arrive at Inchon by ship from 1 through 26 September. The troops will then be transferred to the carrier by landing craft thence to the Demilitarized Zone by Army and Marine helicopters.

Patrols were established and have been conducted off the Korean West Coast to seaward of the Han River Estuary under supervision and south of thirty-seven degrees thirty-five minutes north latitude for protection of the friendly coast. Patrols off the Korean East Coast were established and executed from the eastern terminus of the southern boundary of the Demilitarized Zone to 127 degrees east longitude. No significant events were observed at any time.

Planes from the First Marine Air Wing based in Korea conducted intensive training exercises during the period. In addition fifty-four intercept and day and night patrol sorties were flown. No significant activity was reported.

United Nations Naval patrol planes continued their aerial reconnaissance of the Japan and Yellow Seas. These planes flew one hundred seven sorties during the period, conducting daily shipping surveillance, anti-submarine and weather reconnaissance missions over the water surrounding Korea. In addition, these planes supported and engaged in special training exercises as directed.

In order to meet the sixty-day deadline for the completion of "BIG SWITCH" as agreed to by the United Nations in the Armistice Agreement, embarkation of prisoners of war in ships specially cribbed for this purpose began on 28 July. The importance of this operation is shown, to some extent, by the fact that ten ships otherwise scheduled to return to the United States were retained to accomplish this task.

As of 15 August the United Nations Command had lifted

33,760 prisoners of war from Koje-Do, Cheju-Do, Yonchi-Do, Pongam-Do and Chogu-ri to Inchon and 838 sick and wounded repatriates from Koje-Do to Pusan for further transportation by rail to the exchange site. This represents about thirty-six per cent of the grand total to be lifted. Mutually planned and agreed daily quotas have been met with only minor problems. Heavy rains halted transportation of prisoners of war from Inchon to the exchange site on 13 August. Two vessels were used as floating stockades during the night. However, trucks began making deliveries on the 14th. Normal quotas were being accepted the following day. Several ships have reported instances of chanting and singing by the prisoners with scattered attempts to demolish partitions. All of these demonstrations were controlled without casualty.

Auxiliary vessels continued to provide mobile logistics, salvage, towing and additional services as required by all afloat units.

Salvage operations are continuing on the Cornhusker Mariner aground to seaward of the Pusan Harbor baffles. On 14 August salvage workers commenced securing ship for expected typhoon "Nina". The salvage officer reported that he planned to cut the ship in vicinity of frame 106 and beach stern and bow sections separately in safe water.

The removal of the sunken dredge in Inchon Harbor has now been given highest priority among the harbor clearance projects in the Far East. The removal of the dredge has been scheduled to begin about 15 September.

United Nations Command Naval auxiliary vessels and transports provided personnel lifts and logistic support for the United Nations Command forces in Korea.

In order to combat a natural tendency to relax after a prolonged period of combat operations United Nations Naval Commands have envisaged plans whereby the morale of Naval forces may even be enhanced during Armistice operations. These plans include additional opportunities for fleet forces to visit ports in the western Pacific, full opportunity for maintaining upkeep and maintenance schedules and increased opportunity for individual ship, unit, group and force training exercises.

The Far East Air Forces continued to support the United Nations Command in Korea by conducting non-combat operations during the period. To minimize the possibility of air violations of the Armistice conditions, additional controls were placed on the movement of United Nations aircraft in areas immediately adjacent

to the Demilitarized Zone and coastal regions as well as upon the entry and exit of aircraft into and out of South Korea. Patrols were flown immediately south of the Demilitarized Zone as a precautionary measure.

Combat cargo aircraft of the 315th Air Division continued airlift operations between Japan and Korea in strict compliance with the terms of the Armistice. In this task, 3558 sorties transported 9471.3 tons of cargo, including 49,052 passengers and medical evacuees. Also included in this total were 260 repatriated United Nations prisoners of war whose physical conditions were such as to make a trip by surface vessel inadvisable.

Air Sea Rescue Units of Far East Air Forces continued their assigned role of search and rescue of missing aircraft and crews, as well as aiding in the recovery of other military and civilian personnel in distress.

Mr. C. Tyler Wood, newly appointed United Nations Command Economic Co-ordinator, will replace Dr. Henry J. Tasca, former Special Representative of the President for Korea Economic Affairs, as Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command Economic Adviser and Representative on the Combined Economic Board on a permanent basis. Mr. Wood will establish his office in Korea where he will co-ordinate the existing aid programmes of the United Nations Command and the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency with the additional United States economic aid to the Republic of Korea resulting from Dr. Tasca's report to the President concerning ways and means for strengthening the Korean economy.²

Since the beginning of the United Nations collective action in Korea, the United Nations Command has submitted bi-weekly reports on its activities to the United Nations. In addition, special supplementary reports were submitted on appropriate occasions. In general, the substance of the bi-weekly United Nations Command reports has been concerned with the conduct of the military operations in Korea. In light of the armistice in Korea, which has brought about a reduction in the activities of the United Nations Command, there does not appear to be the same need for regular bi-weekly reports. However, the United Nations Command will continue to fulfill its obligations under the Security Council Resolution of July 7, 1950 by rendering reports from time to time as appropriate on the activities undertaken in implementation of the Armistice Agreement.

² For a summary of Dr. Tasca's report, see BULLETIN of Sept. 7, 1953, p. 313.

A Survey of the Arab Refugee Situation

INTERIM REPORT OF THE SPECIAL NEAR EAST REFUGEE SURVEY COMMISSION¹

DECEMBER 11, 1953

I. Basis and Scope of Study

The Special Refugee Survey Commission to the Near East was appointed by the Honorable Harold E. Stassen, Director of Foreign Operations Administration in consultation with the Secretary of State. Its members are the Honorable Edwin L. Mechem, Governor of New Mexico, Chairman, Honorable P. Kenneth Peterson, Legislator and Member of the Council of State Governments, from Minnesota, and Dr. James L. Fieser, former Vice Chairman and General Manager of the American Red Cross, of Bethesda, Maryland, each representative of a different section of the United States.

The Commission was set up in October, 1953, under provision of the Mutual Security Act of 1953, as follows:

Section 706, Title V. Relating to organization and general provision of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, as amended, as follows: * * * (g) Near East Refugees—add after Sec. 548, the following new section:

Section 549. (a) In order to contribute to the peace and stability of the Near East in particular and of the world in general, the Director for Mutual Security shall, in consultation with the Secretary of State, make a survey of the refugee situation in the Near East and report the results of the survey to the Congress within one hundred fifty days after the Mutual Security Act of 1953 is enacted, together with recommendations for seeking a solution. In the making of such report and recommendations, special consideration shall be given to a program which would utilize the services and talents of these refugees to develop and expand the resources of the area, including its water resources.

It was originally planned that the Commission would depart for the Near East on November 7, and that about three weeks would be spent in the area studying the situation. On their return the Commission would complete its report for transmission to the Congress by December 14, 1953, as provided by Section 549 of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, as amended, as quoted above.

¹ Transmitted on Dec. 14 to the President, the Vice President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Circumstances, however, necessitated a deferment of the field survey to a more feasible date. It was therefore determined that an interim report be filed pending a later visit to the Near East to study the situation at first hand, when a final report would be made.

Inasmuch as it was not possible for the Commission to survey the conditions in the area first hand, it decided to commence its examination of the problem along the following lines:

1. Consultation with official representatives of the Arab and Israeli Governments in the United States.

2. Consultation with delegates to the United Nations, officials of the United Nations, and attendance at sessions of the United Nations on the Palestine question.

3. Consultation with Members of Congress who have recently been in the Near East.

4. Meet with members of the United States delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

5. Interview officials of voluntary and non-governmental agencies which conduct relief programs in the Near East area.

6. Conferences with representatives of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), the Chief of the Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization, and with the former United Nations Acting Mediator for Palestine, Dr. Ralph Bunche.

7. Consultations on water resources with Mr. Eric Johnston, Special Representative of the President, and with Mr. Gordon Clapp, Chairman of the Board of Tennessee Valley Authority.

8. Study of reports, and other documentation on the subject.

All of the above were done, and in all contacts the Commission was received cordially.

Because the Commission is not in a position to make any firm findings until an inspection of conditions in the area is possible, this is necessarily an *interim* report.

II. The Problem

The Arab refugees from Palestine are the victims of political, economic, social, and religious

forces between Arab States and what is now Israel. The movements and inter-relationship of events which resulted in this situation are beyond the scope of this study, except to the extent that they continue to influence the attitudes of the Arab States and Israel in dealing with the refugee problem as outlined in Section VIII below. Briefly, it may be said that following the Balfour Declaration of 1917, favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, there was increasing friction between Arabs and Jews as the latter became more numerous and achieved a recognized status through the Jewish Agency under the British mandate. The persecution of the Jews by the Nazis before and during World War II led to increased pressures for mass Jewish migration to Palestine and for the creation of a Jewish state.

The seriousness of the problem and the question of the legal status of the Palestine Mandate under the League of Nations led the British Government to place the Palestine question before a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in April 1947. In response to the British proposal, the General Assembly established a Special Committee on Palestine to submit proposals for the solution of the Palestine problem in September 1947. Its report furnished the basis for the decision of the General Assembly, November 29, 1947, adopting a Plan of Partition for Palestine.

Under the provisions of this resolution, the General Assembly recommended the creation of an Arab State and a Jewish State from the former Palestine Mandate, with a separate international status for the City of Jerusalem. The establishment of the two proposed states was to be under the auspices of a United Nations commission. The immediate rejection of this proposal by the Arab nations, the indicated determination of the British Government to surrender authority over the mandated area, and the determined planning by Jewish elements to assume the statehood recommended for them by the General Assembly led to violence and terrorism in the area. Thus when on May 15, 1948, Israel declared its statehood and was immediately recognized by the United States and several other nations and when on the same date the British Government formally surrendered its mandatory powers, open hostilities broke out between armed forces of neighboring Arab States and Israel.

By reason of hostilities, hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs fled to neighboring Arab countries, hopeful of an early return to their former homes. In 1949 their numbers were estimated at over 1,000,000. Approximately half of them found refuge in the new Kingdom of Jordan, where they constitute over one-third of the population of that country. Over 200,000 fled to the City of Gaza and its environs, under Egyptian control, where they out-numbered the local inhabit-

ants three to one. Another group of 100,000 moved northward to Lebanon, increasing the population of that country by 10%. Nearly 100,000 took refuge in Syria.

Their shelter was whatever they could find—mosques, barracks, schools, huts, and even caves. For many months the Arab governments made temporary arrangements for feeding them. Since this was a burden which the Arab States could not long sustain, they appealed to the United Nations for help.

III. Early United Nations Interest and Concern

With the outbreak of hostilities, the United Nations was immediately faced with a three-fold task: bringing about cessation of hostilities; assisting in the negotiation of armistice agreements; and taking measures for the relief of the refugees. Through a series of decisions by the Security Council and as a result of negotiations conducted by the late Count Folke Bernadotte and Dr. Ralph Bunche in their successive roles as United Nations mediators, the first two tasks were substantially completed early in 1947. With respect to relief, the General Assembly of the United Nations in November 1948 established a \$32 million relief program to be supported by voluntary contributions from all governments, with field operations to be carried on by the League of Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the American Friends Service Committee. This was admittedly a stop-gap relief measure which left unresolved the question of the future of the refugees.

The United Nations was equally concerned with the longer range task of bringing about a settlement of the outstanding issues between the Arab States and Israel. In its resolution of December 11, 1948, the General Assembly established a Palestine Conciliation Commission, whose principal function was to assist the Governments concerned to achieve a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them. In paragraph 11 of this same resolution, it dealt with the political aspects of the refugee question in the following terms:

11. *Resolves* that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible.

Subsequent action by the United Nations is dealt with in Section VI below.

IV. United States Interest and Concern

The American people have a natural humanitarian concern in the plight of these unfortunate people. During the past three and one-half years they have made contributions through numerous

religious, charitable, and philanthropic groups for the welfare of these people amounting to about \$8,000,000.

The stake of this Government in the Near East, as related to the refugee problem, is clearly stated in the report of the Sub-Committee on the Near East and Africa of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, dated July 24, 1953:

The United States has an interest in doing what it can to help solve the refugee problem because of its direct relationship to the economic and political stability and the security of the Near East. The United States does not wish to see the internal order and the independence of the countries of the Near East threatened by economic chaos, Communist penetration, or military hostilities. Disorder with a resultant possibility of the renewal of hostilities in this part of the world would threaten the security interest of the United States and the free world generally.

The extent to which the United States Government has demonstrated its interest and concern is given in Section VII below.

V. Present Situation of the Refugees

There are now 870,000 registered refugees receiving relief from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees. They are distributed as follows:

Jordan.....	475,000
Gaza.....	208,000
Lebanon.....	102,000
Syria.....	85,000

In addition, about 5,000 in Iraq are being assisted by that Government.

The 1600 calorie daily ration furnished by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, consisting chiefly of flour, dried vegetables, oils, and fats, is considered a minimum sustaining ration. The cost per person for all relief is estimated at slightly less than \$3.00 per month. One-third of the refugees now live in UNRWA camps, while the remainder live in towns and villages, many of them in make-shift shelter. Their numbers are growing as a result of a natural increase of between twenty and twenty-five thousand annually.

Substantial numbers of them are close to their former homes in what is now Israel. Many cross the armistice lines to sow crops in the spring and reap them in the fall. These, and crossings for other purposes, often result in shooting incidents and constitute a continuing source of tension between Israel and the Arab States, particularly along the Israel-Jordan border.

Except in Jordan, the refugees have no citizenship and no employment rights. In Jordan, where the refugee population constitutes one-third of the population of the country, the presence of the refugees has tended to depress wage levels and adversely affect the already low standard of living prevailing in that country. Moreover, there are in addition about 120,000 who are not refugees, but who have lost their means of livelihood as a result

of armistice lines which separate their homes from their lands or places of occupation.

In Lebanon where there is under-employment of the indigenous peoples, the refugees are neither accorded legal permission to work nor the rights of citizenship, due to the delicate balance between Christians and Moslems on which their political system is based.

In Syria consideration is being given to legislation which would permit the refugees to work and to acquire citizenship.

In Gaza, a city of 80,000 before hostilities, conditions are exceptionally deplorable because the economic activity of that city has been severely curtailed since it was cut off from its normal economic life under the Palestine Mandate. The addition of a refugee population of more than 200,000 in this small strip, 25 miles long and 8 miles wide, between the desert and the sea, has created an impossible economic situation.

VI. Efforts To Resolve the Problem

The refugee problem has been inexorably linked with the general problem of resolving outstanding issues between Israel and the Arab States. In the words of the Under Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith,²

The refugee problem is the principal unresolved issue between Israel and the Arabs. Outstanding issues are generally listed as compensation to the refugees, repatriation of the refugees, adjustment of boundaries, and the status of Jerusalem and of the holy places. None of these issues can be separated from the refugee problem because that is the human problem.

Despite the connection of the refugee problem with the overall political problem, plans and programs were needed to provide for refugee employment and the reduction of ration rolls without awaiting settlement of other outstanding issues. This need was first recognized in 1949 when a United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East was established under the chairmanship of Mr. Gordon Clapp, Chairman of the Board, Tennessee Valley Authority. This mission, after a field survey, pointed to the need to provide immediate employment for refugees on useful works such as roads, afforestation and terracing, which did not require extensive planning. At the same time it pointed to certain longer range developmental possibilities in the countries sheltering the refugees and recommended a number of pilot projects.

On the basis of the recommendations of the Economic Survey Mission, the General Assembly, on December 8, 1949, established the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) to take over the relief operation initiated in 1948, and to undertake works projects for refugee employment. These projects, initiated by UNRWA in 1950, demonstrated that

² BULLETIN of June 8, 1953, p. 823.

refugee skills could be constructively used, even though they did not provide more than a temporary reduction in the ration rolls. Moreover, they paved the way for the consideration of longer range development programs which would offer continuing employment for refugees.

It was with such possibilities in mind that the Director and Advisory Commission of UNRWA recommended to the General Assembly of the United Nations a three-year "reintegration" program estimated to cost \$200,000,000, and relief costs estimated for the same three-year period at \$50,000,000. This program was approved by the General Assembly on January 26, 1952.

The biggest problem faced by UNRWA in the implementation of this program has been to find practicable projects at reasonable cost in countries where the refugees are presently located, which are politically acceptable to the governments concerned. A brief description of the major efforts and results to date follows:

Jordan. In a country of scarce resources—agricultural, industrial, or mineral—and an extremely low standard of living, development prospects were not bright. Attention was focused, however, on the possibility of reclaiming lands in the Jordan Valley through water storage facilities and irrigation works. A proposal was advanced in 1952 for a high dam on the Yarmuk River for storage and power purposes, under which the stored water of the Yarmuk would be used to irrigate both sides of the lower Jordan Valley within the territory of the Kingdom of Jordan.

A program agreement was concluded between UNRWA and Jordan under which UNRWA agreed to reserve to December 31, 1953, \$40,000,000 for such a development, provided that it was feasible and principally benefited refugees.

Before embarking on a development involving the water interests of other countries, UNRWA decided that a desk study of the Jordan Valley waters should be made from the standpoint of their effective and economic use under a comprehensive plan without regard to existing boundaries. This study, undertaken by Charles T. Main, Inc., under the supervision of the TVA, and completed in October 1953, resulted in a basic plan for the unified development of the water resources of the entire Jordan Valley. This plan was developed without regard to political frontiers, and shows how the waters of the Jordan may be efficiently stored and controlled for irrigation and hydroelectric power. It is designed to give maximum benefits to all the peoples on both sides of the Jordan River, including the refugees, with the least cost.

A rough cost estimate of the unified plan would be \$121,000,000, without power phases included, and of which about \$42,000,000 would be for works in Jordan, not including land development. The high dam on the Yarmuk is shown in this report to be excessively costly in terms of storage for

irrigation purposes when the natural reservoirs of Lake Tiberias could be utilized at a relatively small cost. This does not rule out the possibility of a lower dam on the Yarmuk designed primarily for power. Of still greater importance, far more water would be available under the unified plan for irrigation of lands in the lower Jordan and consequently benefit a larger number of refugees. Acceptance of the basic principle of the plan by Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Israel is essential if the far-reaching benefits contemplated under it are to be realized. Without acceptance of its basic principles, this prospect for a livelihood for some 150-200,000 refugees in Jordan may be lost.

In view of the economic and political importance of the unified plan, the President sent Mr. Eric Johnston as his Special Representative to explain its significance and benefits to the countries concerned. In the meantime, the necessary detailed engineering surveys are proceeding on projects in Jordan which are consistent with the plan, and on which construction could be started within the coming year.

Meanwhile, other projects are in operation in Jordan. An \$11 million program agreement was concluded with Jordan in 1952 under which projects are being undertaken to provide a living for approximately 6,000 refugee families (30,000 refugees). A number of projects under this program have been completed, including the re-establishment of villages of refugees whose homes were formerly in Israel, but whose lands lie along the Jordanian side of the armistice line. This program has also included housing projects in Amman, the capital of Jordan, and several small agricultural settlements where ground water has been found. A vocational training program estimated to cost \$1 million has been undertaken to provide technical training in vocations for which there is a demand for trained persons. Other projects have included loans to private enterprises providing employment of refugees through the Jordan Development Bank, part of whose capital is subscribed by UNRWA.

Syria. A \$30 million program agreement has been concluded between UNRWA and the Syrian Government which reserves \$30 million for agricultural, technical training, educational and other projects to provide employment for the 85,000 refugees now resident in Syria. One agricultural settlement for 200 families (1,000 refugees) is near completion. With regard to larger-scale projects, the Director of UNRWA in his report to the General Assembly in 1953,³ stated that:

Attempts have also been made to find areas suitable for more significant agricultural development, and two survey expeditions have been made for this purpose in north and northeast Syria. The conclusion reached as a result of these surveys was that the area had great potentialities and that opportunities existed on State do-

³ U.N. doc. A/2470.

main land, not only for major schemes, but also for many projects involving only minor pumping from the Euphrates, which could be completed and put to use comparatively quickly. Detailed topographical, engineering and soils survey would have to be made before the suitability of any given site for a major scheme could be accurately assessed, but so far government permission for these surveys has not been forthcoming.

Egypt. The Egyptian Government has been deeply concerned with the 200,000 refugees at Gaza and has extended full cooperation to UNRWA in exploring various possibilities for settling these refugees in the Sinai Peninsula. Surveys were made two years ago for underground water resources which would be capable of supporting refugee communities in that area. The results of these surveys were negative. During the past year consideration has been given to the possibility of siphoning water from a sweet water canal fed by the Nile, under the Suez Canal to the Sinai Peninsula, and reclaiming lands in that area which might benefit some 60 to 70 thousand refugees. Detailed surveys as to the feasibility and extent of the irrigable area, expected to be completed within eight months, are now being made under a program agreement between the Egyptian Government and UNRWA, for which \$30 million has been reserved by UNRWA.

The work of UNRWA described in the foregoing paragraphs has thus far been confined largely to negotiations of program agreements and the identification and survey of projects under those agreements. Consequently, less than 10 percent of the \$200,000,000 reintegration fund has been actually expended on the reintegration program, with the result that relief costs have continued on a larger scale than estimated when the three-year program was adopted. The United States and other delegations to the United Nations expressed great concern with the slow progress on reintegration and the resulting costs of continuing relief. This situation was reviewed by the General Assembly at its current session in view of the expiration of the authorized term of UNRWA, previously fixed for June 30, 1954. The General Assembly, after reviewing the report of the Director and Advisory Commission of UNRWA, decided to extend the life of UNRWA until June 30, 1955, and to review the program again at its next session in the autumn of 1954. It likewise authorized relief expenditures for the fiscal year 1954 of \$24.8 million. This increase over 1953 is attributable to the need to provide additional shelter for refugees moving into camps, and to provide rations for refugees not previously assisted. The General Assembly also established a relief budget for the fiscal period 1955 of \$18 million. The following table shows UNRWA's total authorized relief program for fiscal years 1952-55.

1952	\$27,000,000
1953	\$23,000,000
1954	\$24,800,000
1955	\$18,000,000
Total	\$92,800,000

VII. U.S. Financial Support

The great concern of the United States in the maintenance of peace and stability in this area of the world has prompted generous U.S. support for the refugee program and the sharing of a high proportion of its costs. This has been manifested by the Congress in its appropriations for the U.S. contributions which, since the beginning of the relief program in 1949, have totalled \$153,513,250. Of this amount, \$109,450,000 has actually been paid, including \$43,450,000 for the relief and works program through June 30, 1951.

In January 1952, a \$250 million relief and reintegration program was adopted by the General Assembly. Toward this program Congress appropriated \$50,000,000 for fiscal 1952 and \$60,063,250 for 1953 for a total of \$110,063,250. Of this amount, the United States has actually paid the following:

	Fy 1952	Fy 1953	Total
Relief	\$18,000,000	\$16,000,000	\$34,000,000
Reintegration	32,000,000	-----	32,000,000
	\$50,000,000	\$16,000,000	\$66,000,000

Of the \$32 million shown in the table above for reintegration in 1952, \$20 million is still held in a special United States Treasury account on which UNRWA may draw when the funds are needed for disbursement.

It will be noted from the foregoing that only \$16 million was paid out in 1953, leaving a balance of \$44 million which was not paid. Congress re-appropriated this sum for fiscal 1954. It is expected that \$15 million of this amount will be paid toward the current year's relief requirements with the remaining \$29 million being held available for the reintegration program. In addition, Congress authorized a sum of \$30 million for the current fiscal year on the understanding that an appropriation under that authorization would not be sought unless the rehabilitation program moved forward with such speed that it would be required during the current fiscal year.

The financing of the program by contributing governments has been on a voluntary basis. United States contributions have been limited to not more than 70 percent of the contributions of other governments. Up to the present time, U. S. payments have represented approximately 65 percent. However, as larger expenditures are required by the Agency for large scale projects, it is expected that the U. S. will need to furnish 70 percent of the total. The balance of contributions has come from 56 countries—the USSR and satellite countries contributing nothing.

Prior to Congressional authorization and appropriation for funds for the fiscal year 1954, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee indicated concern with the rate of progress being made in resolving the problem. In the report of its sub-

committee which held hearings on the Palestine refugee problem the following statement was made:

American aid cannot continue indefinitely. In fact the subcommittee is of the opinion that unless considerably more progress is shown in the near future than has been shown up to this time, the Congress would not be justified in continuing aid for this program through the United Nations.

The American people are moved by strong humanitarian motives, but they cannot be expected to bear indefinitely so large a share of the burden involved in this situation when Israel and the Arab States show so little initiative in helping to settle the matter among themselves. There is a very real danger that the longer the United States continues to supply relief money, the less desire there will be on the part of the states in this area to make real efforts on their own to liquidate the problem.

These sentiments were reflected in the statement of Congressman James P. Richards, of the United States Delegation to the United Nations, when the question of continuation of UNRWA was under consideration by the General Assembly, in November 1953.⁴

VIII. The Political Aspects of the Arab Refugee Problem

The unresolved problems of the Arab refugees are the result of the determined disagreement between the Arab States and the States of Israel. Briefly, it can best be presented by stating the relative positions of the parties involved, as stated to the Commission: (1) The Arab States; (2) Israel, and (3) the refugees.

(1) *The Arab States.* The Arab attitude is basically that Palestine is an area inhabited by Palestinian Arabs for centuries and that they are, therefore, legally and morally entitled to the lands from which the refugees fled as a result of hostilities in 1947-48. Arab leaders reject the claims of the Israeli Government that there is any other outstanding legal or moral claim to Palestinian lands. They have pointed out that a Jewish state, as such, existed for only 150 years in the 4,000 years of the recorded history of Palestine. They regard the circumstances of flight by the refugees to be the direct result of premeditated aggression and terror by organized Israeli groups. They culminated in fear-invoking incidents designed solely for the purpose of creating fear among the Palestinian Arabs so as to make them abandon their homes and lands.

The Arabs contend that it was only for these reasons that the Palestinian Arabs left their homes and became unwilling refugees in neighboring Arab States. These Arab States gave them refuge and aid to the extent of their ability, but under no circumstances did they assume moral or legal responsibility for them as their kin. Their only

relationship is one of common language. Their predominant Moslem faith is one which the Arab States share with 350 million Moslems in other countries from the Philippines to Spain to whom they owe no moral or legal responsibility for their well-being. The Arabs insist that simple justice requires the recognition of the right of the refugees to return to their homes and lands, or if they do not elect to return to Palestine, that they should be compensated for the loss of their property. They repeatedly point to the recognition of this principle by the United Nations contained in its Resolution of December 11, 1948.

The Arab States basically fear, and often repeat, that Israel's motives are to further expand its territory, by force or other devices. Therefore, any peace settlement would be only an interlude before hostilities would be resumed to accomplish these ends. The Arabs contend that the United States, the United Kingdom, and the United Nations are principally responsible for the creation of the State of Israel and, therefore, are bound to find the solution to the refugee problem.

(2) *Israel.* The attitude of Israeli leaders is basically that there are historical and moral rights to their homelands in Palestine which date back to Biblical times. Also it is a fulfillment of their religious obligation to re-establish a Jewish State. It is contended that this is "righting an historical wrong". This principle, they hold, was recognized in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. They point to the migration of their people during the period of the British Mandate in which they legally and properly obtained claims to land, in addition to that owned by the Levantine Jewish people who had lived there for centuries. They regard the hostilities of 1948 as being acts of Arab aggression and point to the Arab refusal to accept the Partition Plan. They also maintain that when the Palestinian Arabs fled into neighboring Arab countries they did so of their own accord at the urging of Arab leaders. Moreover, these areas have since been settled and built up by their people, and as such they have established a right to the lands.

Although the Israeli Government recognizes the principle of compensation for lands owned by the Arabs, it regards this as a matter to be dealt with in a general peace settlement. Repeatedly they point to the fact that since 1948, in addition to 350,000 refugees from Europe, they have resettled over 300,000 Jewish refugees from Arab and Moslem countries, principally from Iraq, Yemen and North Africa. Because they are active in the integration of these Jewish refugees they consider the Arabs should show a similar concern for the integration of Palestinian refugees into Arab countries.

The Israeli Government takes determined exception to the policy of the Arab States in imposing and maintaining an economic blockade of Israel apparently for the purpose of forcing them

⁴ For text of a statement by James P. Richards of the U. S. delegation to the Eighth General Assembly, see BULLETIN of Nov. 30, 1953, p. 759.

into economic impotence. Further, Israel takes the position that their neighboring Arab States intentionally permit the continuance of these deplorable refugee conditions on the borders of Israel for the purpose of keeping alive the tensions between them and Israel, and for the purpose of mobilizing public opinion in behalf of the Arab position.

Finally, they point to the fact that it is Israel which has invoked the provision of the Armistice Agreement for a settlement of all points of dispute leading to a final settlement with the Arab States, but it is the Arab States which refuse to negotiate a peace settlement.

(3) *The Refugees.* The attitude of the refugees themselves is more difficult to assess, because there is no single authoritative voice to speak for them. However, representatives of several non-governmental agencies assisting the refugees refer to their state of mind as wanting to be repatriated to their homes in Israel. This matter, however, is subject to some division of informed opinion to the effect that the refugees would be reluctant to return to their homes under Israeli rule. It is contended that laws of the State of Israel are punitive and discriminatory to the Arabs who remain in Israel, and would be worse if large numbers of them were repatriated. However, it is claimed that the refugees demand the recognition of the principle of their right to repatriation, or, in the alternative, to be compensated for their property now in Israel.

United Nations Action

The general attitude and position of the Arabs and Israelis outlined above has seriously impeded any effective work on the part of the Palestine Conciliation Commission in bringing the parties together to resolve the outstanding questions between them. As a result of this failure, the Palestine Conciliation Commission for the past two years has been confined primarily to studying the compensation problem and making arrangements for unfreezing of blocked accounts of Arabs in banks located in Israel. Meanwhile, an uneasy state of armistice exists under the terms of the separate armistice agreements between Israel and each of her surrounding Arab neighbors. The observation and enforcement of these agreements is entrusted to the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, backed up by the Security Council.

IX. Observations

This report is of necessity not a complete statement because the Commission has not as yet had an opportunity to inspect the area. The Commission feels, however, that the following observations, although general in nature, are fundamental and deserve immediate and further exploration.

It is hoped that more concrete recommendations can be made by the Commission following its investigation in the area.

The refugee problem is inextricably woven into the entire economic, social, and political situation which afflicts the Middle East of today.

Economic development of the area, without doubt, will make the possibilities of peace more capable of realization. However, it is not in itself a complete answer to the problem. The Commission sees no permanent solution to the refugee problem until there is a more favorable political atmosphere leading to a workable peace established between the Arab States and Israel.

The depth of the emotions and the character of the issues involved on both sides are not such as to lend themselves to a permanent solution of the refugee problem by economic considerations alone.

This government has both a stake and responsibility, together with the other members of the United Nations, in the final solution of the refugee problem. Arabs and Israelis, for different reasons, recognize our concern in the prosperity and stability of the Near East. Therefore, the Commission makes the following observations:

(1) Support should be given to the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to continue the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) until June 30, 1955. It should be noted that the U. S. Delegation to the United Nations voted in favor of this resolution.

(2) Temporary and stop-gap projects are not the solution to the economic distress of the people in this area. It follows that only a permanent and practical plan of development is the answer to the economic side of the refugee problem. The principles of the unified plan for the development of the Jordan River appear to be the best forward step in this direction, inasmuch as water appears to be the most valued resource in this area, and in shortest supply. The Commission feels that this will overcome the inertia enveloping the refugee problem and give that necessary impetus which would put the refugees in a position to help themselves and become independent of the largess of others.

(3) Despite the difficult situation as related to the refugees, there appear to be favorable opportunities for permanent economic improvement of refugee families. This involves the development of irrigation projects and appurtenant works which, if developed, could improve the economic condition of a substantial part of this area. The surveys now in progress should be pursued to completion as soon as possible to determine if the projects are feasible and economically sound, in order that agreements can be reached at an early date to clear the way for commencement of construction.

(4) All available resources, both private and public, must be used to restore that sense of mutual

dignity and personal respect between the Arab and Jewish peoples which did exist prior to the outbreak of hostilities. It is recognized that this cannot be done by legislation or force. The United States, as an interested party, should do all within its power to accomplish this end. One certain way in which this can be accomplished is to state our objectives clearly and to show our intention to be impartial and consistent.

(5) To give positive moral assurance to the parties that we will accept our share of responsibility, together with the other members of the United Nations, only on the condition that any and all agreements made will be kept in good faith.

It is felt that the opportunity exists *now* for a more substantial beginning to solve the refugee problem. However, it must not be half-hearted and indecisive, and it must be geared to objectivity and good will for all of the governments involved, and with firm assurance that we are not motivated by selfish considerations.

It is clear that economic assistance alone is not capable of winning the respect and affection of these peoples and that, therefore, we and the United Nations must move with decision and determination in all our relationships with these governments in dealing with this problem.

Current Legislation on Foreign Policy: 83d Congress, 1st Session

State Department Information Program—Information Centers. Hearings before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations Pursuant to S. Res. 40. Part 6, May 6 and 14, 1953, pp. 357-415; Part 7, July 1, 2, and 7, 1953, pp. 417-482; Part 8, July 14, 1953, pp. 483-496; Part 9, Composite Index, August 5, 1953, pp. I-XVII.

State Department—Student-Teacher Exchange Program. Hearing before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations Pursuant to S. Res. 40. June 10 and 19, 1953, 21 pp.

St. Lawrence Seaway. Hearings before the House Committee on Public Works on H. J. Res. 104, providing for creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation to construct part of the St. Lawrence Seaway in United States Territory in the interest of national security; authorizing the Corporation to consummate certain arrangements with the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority of Canada relative to construction and operation of the Seaway; empowering the Corporation to finance the United States share of the Seaway cost on a self-liquidating basis; and for other purposes. June 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, and 18, 1953, 539 pp.

Miscellaneous Hearings. Hearings before the House Committee on Banking and Currency on the International Wheat Agreement Amendment (S. J. Res. 97). Vol. I, July 20, 1953, pp. 45-72.

Amendments to the Trading with the Enemy Act. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on S. 34, S. 145, S. 151, S. 155, S. 249,

S. 373, S. 1765, S. 2171, S. 2231, S. 2315, and S. J. Res. 92. July 20, 21, and 22, 1953, 555 pp.

Famine Relief. Hearings before the House Committee on Agriculture on H. R. 6016, a bill to authorize the Commodity Credit Corporation to make agricultural commodities owned by it available to the President for the purpose of enabling the President to assist in meeting famine or other urgent relief requirements in countries friendly to the United States. July 22, 23, and 24, 1953, 173 pp.

Security—United Nations. Hearings before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations Pursuant to S. Res. 40. September 17 and 18, 1953, 67 pp.

Thirty-fourth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations. Message from the President transmitting the thirty-fourth report on operations for the year ending December 31, 1952. (Payments and Settlements; Current Settlement Negotiations; Status of Nations; Lend-Lease Act.) September 24, 1953, 32 pp.

Testimony of Dr. Marek Stanislaw Korowicz. Hearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. September 24, 1953, pp. 2585-2609.

Importation of Feed Wheat. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry on importation into the United States of Canadian wheat classified as "wheat, unfit for human consumption," under paragraph 729, Tariff Act of 1930. Part 2, October 8 and 9, 1953—Minneapolis, Minn.; October 13 and 14, 1953—Galveston, Tex.; pp. 167-545.

Transfer of Occupation Currency Plates—Espionage Phase. Hearing before the Subcommittee on Government Operations Abroad of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations pursuant to S. Res. 40. October 20 and 21, 1953, 64 pp.

Stockpile and Accessibility of Strategic and Critical Materials to the United States in Time of War. Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials and Fuels Economics of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs pursuant to S. Res. 143, a resolution to investigate the accessibility and availability of supplies of critical raw materials. Part 1, Department of the Interior: Bureau of Mines, October 20, 21, 23, and 24, 1953, 351 pp.

Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Summary of the hearing before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on atomic power development and private enterprise. December 1953, 23 pp.

Mutual Security Legislation and Related Documents, with explanatory notes. House Committee on Foreign Affairs. December 1953, 201 pp.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: January 4-10

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